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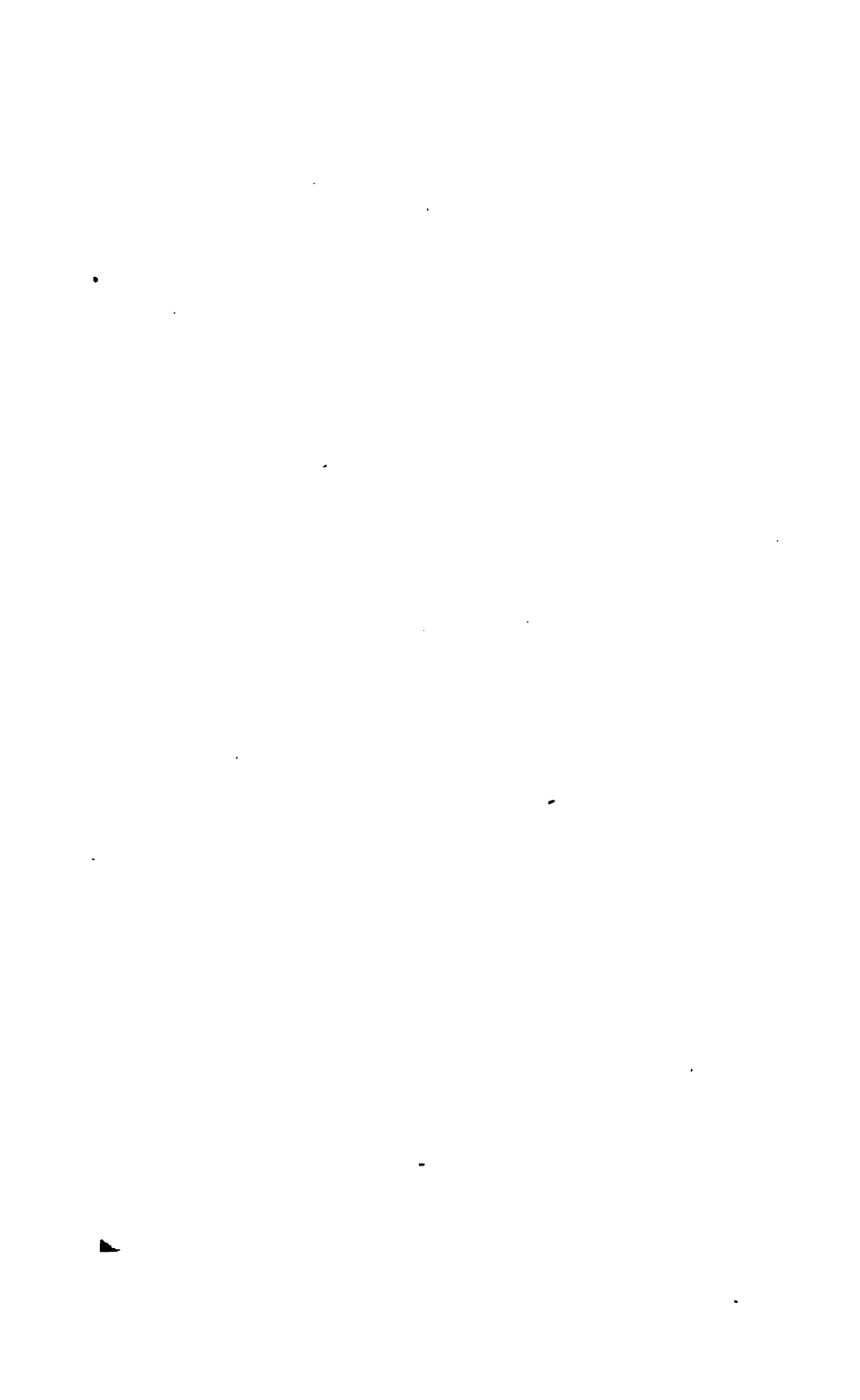


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THE
NORMANS IN SICILY:

BEING

A SEQUEL TO

“AN ARCHITECTURAL TOUR

IN

NORMANDY.”

BY

HENRY GALLY KNIGHT, ESQ., M.P.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

MDCCCXXXVIII.

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G. WOODFALL, ANGEL COURT, SKINNER STREET, LONDON.

ADVERTISEMENT.

HAVING in a preceding volume, taken a view of the Architecture of the Normans in France and England, I was desirous of completing the survey of their works by giving some account of their operations in the third scene of their conquest and dominion, the Island of Sicily. For the accomplishment of this object I adopted the same course which I had pursued on a former occasion—I repaired to the spot myself, accompanied by an architect, that the guarantee of a professional eye might not be wanting to confirm the testimony of an amateur.

But before I enter upon a description of the buildings, I shall take the liberty of prefacing this

Volume with a short statement of the train of events which led to the establishment of the Normans in the South of Europe, and with a sketch of the reigns of the Norman Sovereigns of Sicily and Calabria. The annals of history will best account for the very peculiar character of the works of the Normans in that part of Europe.

In order the more completely to illustrate the subject, I lay before the public, in a larger form, selections from the architectural drawings^a of my companion, Mr. George Moore, the beauty of which will be admitted, and for the fidelity of which I can answer. The references, which will be observed at the foot of the following pages, relate to these Plates.

^a Illustrations of "The Normans in Sicily," being a Series of Thirty Drawings of the Saracenic and Norman Remains of that country. Folio. London, John Murray, Albemarle Street; Dominic Colnaghi, Pall Mall East.

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ERRATA.

Page 8, line 6, for "Monte Puleiano" read "Monte Pulciano."

49, line 11, for "Innocent I." read "Innocent II."

182, line 18, for "eighty" read "thirty."

307, line 17, for "situated" read "selected."

332, line 10, for "Palermoi" read Palermo."

INTRODUCTORY

HISTORICAL NOTICE.

CHAPTER I.

WHEN the Normans first made their appearance in the south of Italy, the greater part of what had constituted the Roman empire was in that disjointed and unsettled state which enables the strong hand to grasp at, and reach, any thing. The scenes of real life, at that time, resembled those of a melodramatic theatre, in which incidents the most improbable diversify the piece, and personages the least expected figure on the stage.

Italy, which had been on the point of becoming one united kingdom under the Lombard sceptre, was again, and for ever, shattered and divided by the policy of the Lateran. The popes, perceiving that, under undisturbed kings of Italy, the successors of St. Peter would become little more than bishops of Rome, offered the empire of the West to strangers powerful enough to break down the

Lombard dominion, but these foreign lords, when absent, could not restrain disorder, and, when they crossed the Alps, more than once gave the popes reason to repent of having delivered themselves into their hands.

On the revival of the empire of the west, Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, had been suffered to remain with the emperors of the East. The two former they still governed by viceroys, styled catapans^a; who were periodically sent from Byzantium, but Sicily had long been wrested from their sway by the victorious Saracens.

On the western side of the Peninsula, the three Lombard principalities of Benevento, Capua, and Salerno, the Abbot of Monte Casino, and the Republic of Amalfi, asserted their independence. Naples elected its own rulers, but acknowledged the supremacy of the Greek emperors. These little states were seldom on friendly terms, but had not sufficient strength to do each other as much harm as they wished without foreign assistance.

Such was the posture of affairs, in that part of the world, when the Normans arrived there, not, as in France, in the character of terrible invaders, but as emigrants and stipendiaries.

^a From Catapan, which means "over every thing," is derived, Captain. You see the progress of the change in the name of the Apulian province of Capitanata, which, as Leo Ostiensis observes, should have been called Catapanata.

Conquest and dominion, however, equally awaited them in the end.

In the year 1003 ^a, Drogo, a Norman chief, on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, landed, with about forty companions, at Salerno. The Saracens attacked the town whilst the Normans were there. Drogo, with his companions, put himself at the head of the people, and repulsed the invaders. The Duke of Salerno, having witnessed the prowess of the valiant strangers, pressed them to remain. The pilgrims excused themselves at the time, but engaged to return. In the following spring, Drogo, with a band augmented by no small number of bold adventurers, fulfilled his promise, returned to Italy, and entered into the service of the Duke of Salerno.

For some years after their arrival in Italy, the Normans were employed as stipendiaries in the service of different masters ^b; sometimes at Salerno; sometimes at Capua; sometimes in the pay of the Abbot of Monte Casino. It was not long before they attempted a bolder game. Raynulfus ^c, with a part of the band, in fulfilment of a vow, had repaired to the chapel of St.

^a Leo Ostiensis, lib. ii. c. 37.

^b ——— plus tributenti

Semper adhærebant ——— Gulielmus Apuliensis.

^c Gul. Ap.

Michael^a, on the heights of Monte Gargano, in Apulia. At that place they met Melo^b, a noble Lombard, who, being a subject of the Greek emperor, and having been detected in a conspiracy, had been banished from Bari. Melo successfully worked upon the Normans, with accounts of the weakness and the wealth of the Greeks. The Normans collected their forces, and in concert with the troops furnished by the Lombard princes, upon whom Melo had worked with equal success, attacked and defeated the Catapan Turnicius^c. But, in the following year, another Catapan, with a large body of troops, arrived from Byzantium^d. A general engagement took place at Cannæ^e. The Normans were entrapped in an ambushade, and overwhelmed by superior numbers. Those who escaped, escaped by flight.

1020. After this reverse, some of the Normans entered the service of the Prince of Capua, whilst others became freebooters, and disturbed the country with predatory incursions. As much to

^a The Norman devotion to the Archangel Michael, is sufficiently testified by Mont St. Michel, in Normandy, and St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall.

^b Gulielmus Apuliensis.

^c Turnicius sed terga dedit. Gul. Ap. lib. 1.

^d 1019 fecit prælium prædictus Bugianus cum Francis et vicit—Lupus Protospata.

^e Gul. Ap.

repress these disorders, as to accommodate the band who were in his pay, the Prince of Capua granted the Normans a district of land between Capua and Naples, on which spot they all reunited, and built the town of Aversa.

1021. Shortly afterwards, the Prince of Capua employed the Normans in an expedition against the new Abbot of Monte Casino, and, becoming master of the greater part of the heritage of St. Benedict through their assistance^a, presented them with a large slice of it for themselves. On a subsequent occasion, the Normans restored the dispossessed Sergius^b to his dukedom of Naples, in return for which Sergius rewarded them with large presents, bestowed his daughter in marriage on Raynulfus^c, whom the Normans had elected for their chief, and conferred on him the dignity of Count of Aversa^d.

1022. The Normans, having thus obtained a firm footing in the Peninsula, now communicated with their brethren in France^e, informed them of their prosperous situation, and invited as many as might be so disposed to join the colony.

^a Leo Ostiensis, lib. ii. c. 58.

^b Ibid. lib. ii. c. 57.

^c Egregium quendam mox elegere suorum.

Nomina Ranuulfum, qui princeps agminis esset.

Gul. Ap.

^d Leo Ostiensis, lib. ii. c. 5.

^e Gul. Ap.

Many accepted the invitation, and it was on this occasion, in the year 1022, that three of the twelve sons of Tancred de Hauteville ^a, who were destined to perform so conspicuous a part on the new arena of Norman renown, came out, with other martial adventurers, to Italy.

1023. The new comers at first entered into the service of the Count of Theano; but, afterwards, went over to that of Gaimar, Prince of Salerno, and put him in possession of Sorrento, as well as Amalfi ^b. Subsequently they were invited, by Maniaces, the Byzantine General, on his arrival at Bari, to join the imperial troops in their approaching expedition against the Saracens of Sicily. The terms which Maniaces offered, were half the booty, and half the towns that might be taken. Such a proposition was too tempting to be refused, and, choosing for their leader, William, the eldest of the sons of Tancred de Hauteville, this division of the Normans enlisted under the Greek banner ^c.

^a Tancred de Hauteville was a Norman gentleman of small fortune, who lived on his lordship of Hauteville, in the diocese of Coutances.

^b *Eo tempore Guaimarius, Normannis faventibus, Surrentum cepit; Amalfim, nihilominus, dominatui suo subdidit.* Leo Ost. lib. II. c. 44.

^c *Gulielmum, Draconem, et Hunifridum, Tancredi filios, qui noviter a Normanniâ venerant, cum trecentis aliis Normannis, in auxilium misit.* Leo Ostiensis, lib. II. c. 47.

1025. In Sicily, the comparatively small band of the Normans performed the most gallant exploits, and often turned the fate of days which the Greeks were on the point of losing. William, the Norman leader, who was the very model of a knight of romance, signalized himself on all occasions, and, transfixing with his lance the Saracenic governor of Syracuse^a, struck a panic into the enemy, and obtained for himself the surname of Bras de Fer. A large part of Sicily was recovered from the Saracens, but, when the difficulties were overcome, Maniaces forgot to fulfil his engagements^b. Neither was the booty divided; nor were any of the conquered towns put into the hands of the Normans. The Normans dissembled their resentment, but determined to be revenged, and effecting their return to Calabria^c whilst Maniaces and his troops were occupied in Sicily, at once entered the territory of the Greek emperor, and possessed themselves of Melfi, Venosa, Lavello, and other places^d.

It was fortunate for the Normans that intrigues of the palace recalled Maniaces to Byzantium at this critical moment, for Docianus, upon whom the command devolved, was a general of inferior abilities. Defeated by the Normans, whose whole army

^a Gaufridus Malaterra, lib. i. c. 7.

^b Malaterra, lib. i. c. 7.

^c Malaterra, lib. i. c. 8.

^d Leo Ostiensis, c. 47.

amounted to seven hundred horse and five hundred foot ^a, on the banks of the Ofanto, he underwent a second and still more disastrous defeat, near Monte Piloso ^b. Another commander arrived with reinforcements from Byzantium, only to experience a similar fate at Monte Puleiano. The next year (1043) Maniaces, restored to favour under a new reign, was sent to change the fortune of the war ^c, but he had scarcely time to signalize himself by the most revolting cruelties at Otranto ^d, and in the small part of Apulia, which he recovered, before another change in the Byzantine government again checked his course. He received an order from the capital to give up the command, but instead of submitting, he assumed the purple himself, and proclaimed independence. The Emperor Monomachus, on receiving intelligence of this event, thought it advisable to negotiate with the Normans ^e, and, by propositions of peace, and promises of liberal rewards, to induce them to lend him their aid against his rebellious subject. Nothing could have happened more favourable to the fortunes or the inclinations of the Normans. Interest and revenge alike disposed them to attack Maniaces. They compelled him to shut himself up within the walls of Ta-

^a Gulielm. Ap.

^c Gul. Apul.

^e Gul. Ap.

^b Gaufrid. Malaterra.

^d Gul. Ap.

rento, from whence he took the first opportunity of embarking to pursue his ambitious projects, by carrying the war into Epirus. There he was met by an army of imperialists, and, in the first engagement, defeated and slain ^a.

1043. The Normans, victorious, and, for the present, unopposed by the Byzantine emperor, had now time to breathe. They immediately called a general assembly of their countrymen ^b, and began by rewarding William, their leader, for his valour and his prudence, by declaring him their chief magistrate, and saluting him with the title of Count of Apulia ^c; and, with that inclination for institutions, for which the men of the North were so remarkable, they convened a second and more solemn assembly at Melfi ^d, to decide upon the manner in which their new acquisitions should be governed.

The form of government which they selected ^e,

^a Cedrenus
Ion. Curopalatas.

^b Gul. Ap.

^c Post hæc, Gulielmo Tancredi filio Comitatus honorem tradentes. Leo Ostiensis, lib. II. c. 67.

^d Leo Ostiensis, lib. II. c. 67.

^e Omnes conveniunt, et bis sex nobiliores
Quos genus, et gravitas morum, decorabat, et ætas,
Elegere duces; provectis ad Comitatum
His alii parent. Gulielmus Apuliensis.

Neither the people, nor the clergy, had any voice in these early Norman institutions, but, at least, they rejected the uncontrolled will of an individual.

as was likely to emanate from a camp, was a purely military, and purely aristocratical council, composed of twelve members, elected by the army from amongst their leaders, and dignified with the title of Counts. They were to meet at stated periods, assist the chief magistrate with their advice, frame laws, and decide on all public matters. Melfi was declared to be the capital^a, a town common to all, and the place at which the council were to meet. They next proceeded to a division of the conquered territory, and towns^b. William received the town of Ascoli, the nearest to the capital. His brother, Drogo, received Venosa; Tristan had Montepiloso. Raynulfus obtained the district in which, twenty-eight years before, he had concerted with the Lombard Melo, the project of expelling the Greeks^c. Other towns were assigned to other leaders.

Norman Apulia thus became a state, and the Peninsula was at rest; but William Bras de Fer enjoyed his new dignity little more than a year. He died in 1045, universally and deeply lamented, and was succeeded in his office and dignity by his brother Drogo.

Two years afterwards, Robert and Hubert, two more sons of Tancred de Hauteville, came

^a Leo Ostiensis, lib. II. c. 67.

^b Ughelli, Italia sacra, vol. VII. p. 166.

Leo Ostiensis, lib. II. c. 67.

^c Leo Ostiensis, lib. II. c. 67.

from Normandy by land^a, in the disguise of pilgrims, and joined their countrymen in Apulia.

The rule of Drogo was pacific, but it was shortly concluded in blood. Whether the Normans governed with kindness or severity, the Lombard and Apulian nobles soon became impatient under the yoke of strangers and upstarts, and secretly conspired to release themselves from it by the base resource of the dagger^b. On the morning of the 4th of August, 1051, which was the feast of St. Lawrence, when Drogo repaired, before it was light, to hear mass in the church of the Saint, an assassin rushed from behind the door, and gave the Count a mortal wound in the back. On the same day, and at the same hour, several more Normans were assassinated in other towns of Apulia. But enough victims had not been reached. The discontented failed to raise the country in their favour. Humphrey, Drogo's next brother, lost not a moment in assuming the reins of government. The Norman sway remained unshaken, and a similar conspiracy was never again attempted.

Ere long the Normans had to sustain another, and a more formidable assault. Leo the Ninth

^a Sub specie peregrinorum, peras et baculos portantes (ne a Romanis caperentur) in Apuliam abierunt. Orderic. Vital. lib. III.

^b Gaufridus Malaterra, lib. I. c. 13.

had been persuaded to behold in the Normans a power dangerous to the interests of the papal see^a. Under this impression he, like his predecessors, had recourse to the emperors of the West, and obtained from Henry the Third the assistance of an army^b, which the Pope undertook to command in person. The Normans attempted to divert the storm by the most humble submissions, but Leo was not to be appeased, and, on the 18th of June, 1058, the two armies met on a plain near Civitella. On this occasion, the Normans appear to have had no more than 3000 horse, and a small number of foot^c, whilst their antagonists amounted to four times that number. The result of a long and well contested battle, in which Humphrey, and Robert, de Hauteville, greatly distinguished themselves, was, that the German army was totally defeated, and the Pope remained a prisoner. The Normans now gave a proof that they possessed as much wisdom as courage. Aware of the spiritual influence of Rome on the minds of men, they knew that any injurious treatment offered to the head of the church would infallibly bring down upon them a deluge of in-

^a Gaufrid. Malaterra, lib. i. c. 14.

^b The tall Germans thought they should obtain an easy victory over the Normans.

Corpora derident Normannica, quæ breviora,

Esse videbantur. Gul. Ap. lib. ii.

^c Vix procures istos equites ter mille sequuntur
Et pauci pedites. Gul. Ap.

dignation. Instead, therefore, of treating the Pope as a captive ^a, the Normans fell at his feet, and implored his pardon and his blessing. They became his escort, and conducted him, as if he were returning in triumph, to Benevento. Leo IX. was so touched by a conduct the very opposite of what he expected, that he confirmed to the Normans all they had conquered, or might conquer, in Apulia, and Calabria ^b, and made an alliance with the very men whom he came to expel.

After this happy termination of so menacing a storm ^c, Humphrey devoted himself to consolidate the Norman power in Apulia by the maintenance of order, whilst his brother Robert, at the head of a separate force, prosecuted the conquest of Calabria, and compelled the important towns of Catanzaro, Bisignano, Cosenza, and Martura, to acknowledge his authority ^d. In the course of these campaigns, Robert had frequent recourse to those stratagems, the habitual use of which obtained for him the surname of

^a Ob reverentiam Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, cum magnâ devotione, ejus provolvuntur pedibus, veniam et benedictionem, postulantes. Gaufridus Malaterra, lib. i. c. 14.

^b Malaterra.

^c It was about this time (1053) that Geoffrey de Montbray, Bishop of Coutances, in Normandy, arrived in Italy, and obtained from his victorious countrymen rich oblations, to assist him in the reconstruction of his cathedral.

^d Maurolycus.

Guiscard, or "the wily."^a On one occasion^b, when, from the natural strength of its situation, he despaired of taking the citadel of Malvito, he sent word to the monks of a convent within its walls, that one of his officers was dead, and besought them to give him burial in their church. The bier was carried, and accompanied by unarmed men. In the midst of the funeral service, the corpse started up, in complete steel, and put swords into the hands of the escort. The garrison, taken by surprise, laid down their arms, and the gates of the fortress were opened to Robert by his own soldiers.

In 1055, Humphrey died, leaving young children, by his wife Matilda, the sister of Raynulfus. Their tender age, and the habit, which by this time was established, of electing brother after brother, afforded Robert an easy road to that supreme power for which his ambition thirsted^c, and which his great abilities fitted him to hold. In 1056 the fourth son of Tancred de Hauteville was proclaimed Duke of Apulia and Cala-

^a Cognomen Guiscardus erat quia calliditatis
Non Cicero tantæ fuit aut versutus Ulysses.

Gulielmus Apuliensis.

Guiscard, in the old Norman dialect, meant *rusé*.

^b Gul. Ap.

^c Guiscardus—omnium dominus et Comes, in loco fratris efficitur. Malaterra.

bria^a, and in 1059^b, he was confirmed in all his titles and possessions, by Nicholas II., in return for which he entered into a solemn engagement to become the defender of the Church^c.

In the mean time, (in the year 1057,) Roger, the youngest son of Tancred de Hauteville, on the death of his father, came out, with his mother and his three sisters, to Calabria^d. He was in the flower of his age; bold, active, intelligent, cheerful, and kind, and, to these great and amiable qualities, added the external advantages of a tall stature and a manly beauty. Well received by Robert, he was entrusted with a separate command, in the exercise of which he so much distinguished himself, and became so popular with his men, that the jealousy of Robert was awakened. On his part, Roger considered that his services were inadequately requited. For some time the two brothers were estranged, but Robert, soon made aware that Roger could be no less dangerous as an enemy than useful as a friend, put an end to the misunderstanding, by conferring on his brother the county of Melito, and all the western part of Calabria, including Scylla and

^a Inveges—Annali di Palermo, v. 3.

^b Robertum donat Nicholaus honore Ducali. Gul. Ap.

^c Baronius, vol. xvii. p. 170. Anno 1059.

Malaterra, l. i. c. 19.

^d Malaterra, lib. i. c. 28.

Reggio ^a, the towns which remained the last in the hands of the Byzantine Emperor.

In the following year (1059) Robert, wishing to strengthen himself by an alliance with one of the noble Lombard families, procured a divorce from his first wife, Alvareda, on the plea of consanguinity ^b, and married Sikelgayta, the eldest daughter of Gaimar, Prince of Salerno ^c.

^a Leo Ostiensis.

Inveges, vol. III.

^b Cognita, præterea, quod prædicta Alvareda sibi affinis esset.—Leo Ostiensis, lib. III. c. 16. By Alvareda, Robert had a son, Boemond, who was just such another as his father, and eventually became Prince of Antioch.

^c Malaterra.

CHAPTER II.

AFTER the recall of Maniaces from Sicily in 1052, all that had been recovered from the Mahometans fell back into their hands. The Saracens were again masters of the whole island, but, having now ceased to acknowledge the supremacy of the Kaliphs of Egypt, and parcelled out the island into separate jurisdictions, they soon began to quarrel amongst themselves. In the course of one of these struggles, Ben et-Themnah was dispossessed of the government of Catania. Compelled to fly, and bent on revenge, he repaired in disguise to Mileto, in the winter of 1061, and endeavoured to persuade Count Roger to invade Sicily. About the same time arrived a deputation of Greeks from Messina, on the same errand, though with different views. The Messinese represented that the Saracens were again disunited,—that half the population of the island were Greeks and Christians, who were looking to the Normans for relief, and ready to lend them every assistance. The depositions and exhortations of the two parties encouraged the Norman leaders to attempt the conquest of Sicily.

March and April were employed in prepara-

tions ^a. The Duke arrived in person with his troops in the south of Calabria. But the Saracens of Palermo, apprised of the design of the Normans, dispatched several vessels to cruise off Reggio, and prevent the expedition from crossing the streights. The wary Robert saw so much hazard in the enterprise that he repeatedly postponed the attack ^b. His youthful brother, however, unable to restrain himself any longer, without communicating his intentions to the Duke, one dark night, set sail with no more than 270 soldiers ^c, eluded the vigilance of the Palermitan cruisers, landed in safety a little below Messina, took the Saracens by surprise, and, assisted by the cooperation of the Christians within the walls, before morning, was in possession of the city ^d.

The Duke lost no time in joining the Count with reinforcements; and leaving a garrison in Messina, the two brothers advanced into the Val Demona. This part of the island was principally inhabited by Christians, who received the Normans as deliverers.

In the mean time the Saracens collected their forces, and taking the field, at length offered the Normans battle on the plain below Castro Gio-

^a Fazellus, de rebus siculis, lib. vii. c. 1.

^b Malaterra, l. ii. c. 8.

^c Malaterra, l. i. c. 10.

^d Messanam ex improviso occupat. Leo. Ost.

yanni. If we are to believe the ancient historians, the Normans had on this occasion only 700 men, whilst the Saracens had 15,000^a. Whatever were the numbers, the Normans obtained a complete victory, and, for some time, relieved themselves from any further attack.

Little more was done that year, except by Roger, who on one occasion ventured, at the head of an hundred men, as far as Agrigentum^b; on another, nearly to Syracuse, and each time came back to the camp laden with the spoils of the enemy. On his return from his second expedition, he was invited to Traina, by the Christians^c, who put him in possession of the town, and he was there keeping his Christmas when he received the news of the arrival in Calabria of Robert de Grentemesnil, Prior of St. Evroult in Normandy, with his sisters, Emma and Eremberga.

On his way from Hauteville to Italy, Roger had passed some days at the Priory of St. Evroult^d, and on that occasion, as may be inferred, saw and admired the beautiful Eremberga^e, who,

^a Malaterra, lib. ii. c. 17.

^b Usque Grigentum prædatum. Malaterra, lib. ii. c. 17.

^c Malaterra, lib. ii. c. 18.

^d Tunc Rogerius Tancredi de Altavillâ filius, in Italiam pergens, ibidem (in capellâ S. Ebrulfi.) affecit. Orderic. Vital. lib. iii.

^e Duæ sorores uterinæ Roberti Abbatis, Judith, et Emma, apud Uticum, in Capellâ S. Ebrulfi morabantur, et,

in the habit of a novice, with her sister Emma, was residing under the roof of their brother. A subsequent misunderstanding with William, Duke of Normandy, compelled the Prior of St. Evroult to seek his safety in flight ^a, and his two sisters would not be left behind ^b. The Count no sooner heard of their arrival in Calabria than he hastened away from Traina, and shortly afterwards was united to the object of his first affections at Mileto ^c.

The following year (1064) the Count returned with his young Countess to Traina, and, leaving his wife in that town, proceeded to besiege Nicosia. During his absence, the Greeks of Traina, who perhaps had reason to complain of the con-

sub sacro velamine, mundo renunciassse credebantur. Ordericus Vitalis. lib. iii.

^a Ascensisque equis, cum duobus monachis, Fulcone, et Urso, Galliam expetiit—Robertus Abbas. Ordericus Vitalis, lib. iii.

^b Quæ (Judith et Emma scilicet) cum Rodbertum fratrem suum in Apulia sat vigere audiissent, iter in Italiam inierunt. Comes Rogerius Judith in conjugium accepit. Ibid.

^c Traynâ Rogerius in Calabriam reversus Eremburgam, Roberti S. Euphemie Comitis germanam sororem duxit. Fazellus de Rebus Siculis.

Eremberga was a name assumed, instead of Judith, by the lady when she arrived in Italy. This is clear enough from circumstantial evidence, and is very satisfactorily made out by M. Gautier d'Arc in his excellent volume, *sur l'histoire des Conquêtes des Normands*, a volume which must make all who read it wish that he had completed his intentions.

duct of the Norman soldiers, broke out into open revolt ^a. The Count hastened back, and the revolt was apparently subdued, but the Saracens, encouraged by these divisions amongst the Christians, suddenly approached, were received into the town by the discontented inhabitants, and uniting with them, besieged the Count and the Normans, in the citadel. For four months the Normans had to endure every sort of privation, and to such extremities of every kind were they reduced, that the Count and Countess had only one cloak between them ^b. But the cold of an unusually severe winter by which they suffered, led to their release; for it induced the besiegers to endeavour to warm themselves with wine ^c. The Count, whose eagle eye was ever on the watch, perceived that the discipline of the enemy was relaxed, and, making a sortie, whilst the darkness of night favoured his object, slew so great a number of the Saracens that the terrified remainder took to flight, and the Normans were again masters of the place ^d. When the siege was raised, the Count was obliged to return to Calabria, to recruit his forces, and such was the confidence with which Eremberga

^a Malaterra, lib. II. c. 29.

^b Inter Comitum et Comitissam non nisi unam cappam habentes. Malaterra, lib. II. c. 29.

^c Vini potationibus naturalem calorem intra se excitare nituntur. Ibid.

^d Ibid.

had inspired him by her conduct during the siege, that he left her in command of Traina^a, and so deserving did the young Countess prove herself of the trust, that, during the absence of her husband, she fulfilled all the duties of Governor, gave orders where the sentinels should be placed, and, every night, went the round of the walls, to see that her orders were obeyed.

^a Malaterra, lib. II. c. 31.

CHAPTER III.

FOR some time the Duke was so fully occupied with establishing and maintaining his authority in the newly conquered towns and districts of Calabria, that he was unable to detach any part of his forces to Sicily; and the Count, who had returned to his post, was left to keep his ground single-handed.

The Saracens, aware of his situation, and strengthened by the arrival of an auxiliary band from Africa, advanced to attack him, and took up a position on the heights above the river Cerami^a. So great was the disparity of numbers that the Count himself doubted, for a moment, what course to pursue. The order, however, was given to storm the heights.

As the Normans were advancing, an unknown knight in resplendent armour, on a white steed, and bearing a lance tipped with a cross of gold, darted from amongst their ranks. A cry of St. George! St. George! was heard. The soldiers believed that the Saint was come to assist them in person, and under this impression, were excited to a degree of enthusiasm which made them irre-

^a Malaterra, lib. II. c. 33.

sistible^a. The Count himself, rushing upon the Emir of Palermo, unhorsed, and slew him, in spite of the chain armour, in which he thought himself safe^b. The Saracens fled in confusion, and the Normans remained masters of the field.

In a subsequent year the Count carried an incursion within a short distance of Palermo. The Saracens came out to meet him at Miselmiri, and again were defeated with loss. On this occasion some baskets were found amongst the spoil, containing carrier pigeons, which the Arabs were accustomed to employ, and which were meant to have conveyed the tidings of victory to Palermo. The Count let them fly, but with the symbols of defeat^c.

At length, when the important town of Bari had submitted, the Duke felt himself at liberty to leave Calabria^d, and in the spring of 1072, the two brothers proceeded to invest the Saracenic capital^e. Robert posted himself on the west of the city. The Count was encamped on the east, and a Norman fleet blockaded the port. The

^a Apparuit quidem Eques splendidus in armis, equo albo insidens, album vexillum in summitate hastilis alligatum ferens et, desuper, splendidam crucem et quasi a nostrâ acie progrediens. Quo viso nostri hilariores effecti Deum Sanctumque Georgium ingeminando ipsum præcedentem promptissime sunt secuti. Malaterra, lib. II. c. 33.

^b Splendenti clamucio pro quo lorica utimur. Ibid.

^c Malaterra, lib. II. c. 42.

^d Ibid. lib. II. c. 43.

^e Ibid. lib. II. c. 45.

siege lasted five months, in the course of which various gallant exploits were performed on both sides, as well by sea as by land. At length some of the Sicilian Christians who were in the service of the Saracens, secretly informed the Duke that they could facilitate his entrance into the citadel^a. The assault was then resolved upon. The Count advanced upon the eastern side. The fleet menaced the harbour, whilst the Duke, under cover of some gardens, applied his scaling ladders to the western walls. After a severe struggle the Normans were in possession of the upper town and the citadel. The Saracens retreated within the walls of one of the suburbs, but aware that any prolonged defence was now hopeless, they offered, the next morning, to lay down their arms, if they might remain in possession of their property, adhere to their own religion, and be governed by their own laws^b. The Duke at once accepted their proposal, and this example, which was followed on subsequent occasions, greatly facilitated the conquest of the remainder of the island. When this important point was arranged, the two brothers made their triumphal entry into Palermo at the head of their troops, and, sending for Nicodemus^c, the Greek Archbishop, who, during the sway of the Saracens, had been restricted to a

^a Fazellus, lib. vii. c. 1.

^b Malaterra.

^c *Ibid.*

miserable chapel, they reinstated him in his own Cathedral, which had been turned into a Mosque.

The Duke remained one year at Palermo, and then returned to Calabria, conceding to his brother the entire dominion of Sicily, save and except Palermo, with the beauty and magnificence of which he was so much captivated that he could never bring himself to give up the jurisdiction of the capital^a. From this time Roger assumed the title of Count of Sicily.

Four years elapsed before any further conquests were attempted. In 1077, Roger attacked and took Trapani. In 1078, Taormina was starved into submission^b. The same year Roger instituted at Trapani, where he had built a church, the first Roman Catholic see, choosing, for the first Bishop, his brother-in-law, Robert of Evroult, who, since his arrival in Calabria, had become Abbot of St. Euphemia.

In the mean time Robert, giving way to his ambitious disposition, had embraced every opportunity of extending his dominion in Calabria. In 1076, the citizens of Amalfi groaning under the tyranny of Gisulfus, Prince of Salerno, applied to Guiscard for assistance. Guiscard at first represented that it was impossible for him to interfere

^a Urbem.—Dux eam in suam proprietatem retinens—ceteramque omnem Siciliam adquisitionem, fratri de se habendam concessit. Malaterra, lib. ii. c. 45.

^b Malaterra, lib. iii. c. 18.

in no matter which would bring him in collision with his nephew, but, ultimately, he not only took the Amalfitans under his protection, but in the prosecution of their cause, contrived also to deprive his nephew of Salerno^a. In possession of Salerno, he made an attempt upon Naples^b, and was so far carried away by his ruling passion as to attack Benevento and incur excommunication; but he had taken care to found so many churches and convents, and to carry such frequent and magnificent oblations to the shrine of St. Benedict, that, at the intercession of the Abbot of Monte Cassino, the resentment of the Pope was easily appeased.^c A new, and a far more brilliant, field was now opened before him by the turn which affairs had taken at Byzantium^d. In 1074 Guiscard had

^a Malaterra, lib. iii. c. 2, 3, and 4.

^b Leo Ostiensis, lib. iii. c. 45.

^c Robertus Dux obsedit Beneventum et Princeps Richardus Neapolim. Lupus Protospata.

This Richardus Princeps was the Norman Count of Aversa, who, having ousted his neighbour the Prince of Capua, had become Prince, and Lord, of Capua, in his stead. Naples he was besieging not, on his own account, but at the request of Guiscard, (rogatu Ducis,) whose vassal however, he never allowed himself to be, as Aversa was established before the Norman conquest of Apulia and Calabria.

^d Guiscard founded the church of St. Matthew, at Salerno; the abbey of the Holy Trinity, at Venosa; the abbey of St. Euphemia, and the abbey of St. Michael, at Mellito.

Mal. Gek. Ap.

Anna Comnena.

Malaterra.

given his eldest daughter in marriage to Constantine, the son of the Emperor Michael. Six years afterwards, Nicephorus Botoniates had succeeded in dethroning Michael, and had usurped his throne. Michael applied to Guiscard for assistance. In the mean time Nicephorus had been himself dethroned by Alexis, who did all in his power to conciliate the Duke of Calabria. But Guiscard was not to be diverted from an undertaking for which his daughter's wrongs furnished a pretext, and which opened to the boundless ambition of the Norman adventurer the contingency of an imperial diadem. Collecting his forces he passed over into Epirus, and, in October 1081, near Durazzo^a, so completely demolished the Byzantine army, that the Emperor Alexis, who commanded in person, with difficulty saved himself by flight. At this critical moment arrived ambassadors from Rome to inform Guiscard that the Pope, whom he had sworn to defend, was besieged by the Emperor Henry IV. in the Tower of Crescentius, and claimed his assistance^b. Guiscard, after some hesitation, considered it would ultimately be to his disadvantage if he abandoned the Pope, and leaving his son Boemond at Durazzo, and summoning his

^a Lupus Protospata.
Anna Commena.
Malaterra.

^b Malaterra, lib. III. c. 33.
Ordericus Vitalis.

brother, the Count, from Sicily to watch over his interests in Calabria, he marched to Rome, released Gregory VII. from his thralldom, and carried him in triumph to the Lateran. Henry IV. had thought it prudent to withdraw. The son of Tancred de Hauteville might now boast that he had defeated the Emperor of the East, and overawed the Emperor of the West ^a.

But the Romans, who had sided with the Emperor, on the third day after the rescue of the Pope, suddenly fell upon the Normans. Either to save his soldiers, or to gratify his revenge, the Duke of Calabria lighted, on that occasion, the flames of that conflagration, the traces of which are to this day, so extensively seen. Half of Rome was reduced to ashes, and ruined walls, and deserted regions, still indicate the path of the ruthless Guiscard ^b.

In the mean time, Boemond had been gaining victory after victory, in Epirus and Thessaly, till the Emperor Alexis, perceiving that the Greeks had no chance with the Normans, resolved to hazard no more pitched battles, and himself

^a ————sic uno tempore, victi

Sunt terræ Domini duo—

Alter ad arma ruens armis superatur, et alter

Nominis auditi solâ formidine cepit. Gul. Ap. lib. iv.

^b Urbs maximâ ex parte incendio, vento admixto accrescente, consumitur. Malaterra, lib. iii. c. 37.

withdrew to Byzantium. Discontents, however, arose in the Norman army, under the walls of Larissa ^a, which obliged Boemond to return, for a time, to Calabria, and the Emperor was able to induce the Venetians to come to his assistance in the Adriatic. But no sooner had Guiscard fulfilled his engagements with the Pope, than, with surprising celerity, he organized another armament, and, with 120 vessels, again crossed the Adriatic. It was not long before, in a naval engagement, he obtained as complete a victory over the combined fleet of the Greeks and the Venetians, by sea, as he had before obtained over the Emperor by land ^b. There were, now, no more opponents to subdue. Nothing remained between the Norman and the imperial throne; when, having landed on the coast of Cephalonia, he was seized with a burning fever, which, in six days, terminated his existence ^c.

1085. Such was the end of the most remarkable of the sons of Tancred. No less a statesman than a general, endued with a fearless spirit, a comprehensive mind, and an iron frame, impelled by insatiable ambition, and restrained by none of the finer feelings, he was formed to con-

^a Anna Comnena.

^b Lupus Protospata.

Gul. Ap.

^c Ibid. *ibid.*

conquer nations, and carve his way to thrones. But the chivalry of his character was debased by an alloy of the barbarian, and, although his army, when he died, melted away like a wreath of snow, not a tear bedewed his hearse.

On the death of Guiscard^a, Boemond, his son, abandoned Epirus, his appointed inheritance, and sought to obtain possession of Apulia and Calabria, which Guiscard had left to Roger Borsa, his son by his second wife Sigelgayta. The brothers appealed to the sword; but the Count of Sicily declared in favour of the will, and his support carried its provisions into effect. The young Duke conceded Tarento and Otranto to Boemond, but the two brothers were at continual variance till Boemond perceived a more favourable opening for his ambitious aspirations in the field of the Holy Land.

^a He was buried in the church of the Holy Trinity at Venosa.

CHAPTER IV.

IN the spring of 1085, the Count of Sicily entered the harbour of Syracuse with a naval armament. The squadron of the Saracenic Emir, Ben Avert, was not of inferior force. The battle was prolonged, and the result uncertain, till the Count threw himself on board Ben Avert's vessel. The Emir, who was already wounded, attempted to escape from so redoubtable an assailant, and leaped into another vessel; but missing his aim, fell into the sea, and, borne down by the weight of his armour, sunk to rise no more^a. The loss of their chief disheartened the enemy, and most of their ships fell into the hands of the Normans. But the Saracens within the city resolved to make a stout defence, and for four months endured all the horrors of a siege. The pinch of hunger at length compelled Ben Avert's widow to steal away by night with her children and her treasures, in a

^a Dum a Comite, qui navim ejus minaci ense persequitur, ipse proximam navem de suis ad fugiendum saltu appetens, in mare cum pondere ferri demergitur. Malaterra, lib. III. c. 2.

bark which reached the fortress of Noto in safety. The famished and abandoned Syracusans opened their gates to the Normans.

The next year, the Count undertook the conquest of Castro Giovanni and Girgenti^a. Both cities were under the rule of the Saracen Chamut, who, thinking Girgenti the most secure, left his wife and children at that place, and himself repaired to Castro Giovanni. The Count, however, soon possessing himself of Girgenti, treated Chamut's wife and children with the utmost kindness. From thence, receiving the submissions of other towns in his way, he proceeded to Castro Giovanni; but before he assaulted the place, he requested, and obtained, an interview with the governor. Gratitude for the treatment which his wife and children had experienced, might soften the heart of the Saracen, but the result of the conference was, that Chamut expressed his wish to become a Christian. He then relinquished Castro Giovanni to the Count, and, receiving from him in exchange a grant of land in Calabria, passed the remainder of his days in the neighbourhood of Melito^b.

Nothing now remained in the hands of the Saracens, except the strong fortresses of Noto and Butera. The Count had begun the siege

^a Malaterra, lib. iii. c. 5 and 6.

^b Ibid.

of Butera in the spring of 1088, when he heard of the arrival of Urban II. at Traina ^a.

Urban II. was so largely indebted to the protection of the Normans, that, having been driven out of Rome by the Emperor Henry IV., and the Anti-Pope of his creation, he had found an asylum at Terracina, within the Norman territory. The Count of Sicily he regarded as his most powerful friend, and he was now anxious to obtain his advice in a matter of great difficulty and delicacy. Urban had received a request from the Byzantine Emperor ^b to assist in person at the council about to be held at Constantinople, with a view to adjust the differences between the Greeks and the Latins. The opinion of the Count decided Urban not to undertake a mediation which was only likely to end in a wider breach. The conference then turned upon the affairs of the Sicilian church, and it is probable that, on this occasion, the Count obtained those concessions which are, at this day, of so much advantage to Sicily, and which Urban afterwards confirmed by his celebrated Bull ^c. The Count,

^a Malaterra, lib. III. c. 13.

^b Chartulis, aureis litteris scriptis. Malaterra, lib. III. c. 13.

^c The Bull itself was not published till ten years afterwards, but, in it, Urban says, "I now grant in writing what I formerly promised by word of mouth." He then goes on to say, "that never shall a Legate be sent into Sicily against the will of the Count and his heirs, and that such

refusing to constrain the religious opinions of his subjects, whether Greeks or Saracens, agreed only to found Roman Catholic institutions, as also to place Roman Catholic bishops in all the principal towns of Sicily, but requested, in return, to receive the privileges of nomination and investiture. The Pope got over the difficulty, by appointing the Count and his successors hereditary Legates of the Roman See.

In the same year, the Count having had the misfortune to lose his first wife, and not having any male legitimate offspring, married Adelaide, the niece of Boniface, Marquis of Montferat ^a.

The next year, Ben Avert's widow offered to surrender the fortress of Noto, on the condition of being permitted to retire to Africa with her children and her treasures ^b. To this proposition the Count joyfully assented, and in the spring of 1090, (Butera having already submitted,) Roger became master of the last stronghold of the Saracens, twenty-eight years from the time of his first landing at Messina.

The conquest of the island being thus concluded, the Count liberally distributed rewards

things as are usually done by Legates, shall be done by the Count, or his heirs, as Vice-Legates." Bull of Urban II., in Malaterra, lib. iv. c. 29.

^a Malaterra, lib. iii. c. 14.

^b Uxor autem Ben Avert cum filio in Africam transfugit. Ibid. lib. iii. c. 15.

amongst those by whom he had been so gallantly assisted. Tancred, the son of William Bras de Fer, became Count of Syracuse; Giordan, Roger's natural son, became Count of Noto; William de Hauteville, Robert de Lucy, and other distinguished Norman captains, received other towns in fief, and the feudal system was established in Sicily.

The following year, the indefatigable Count, after having assisted his nephew, the Duke of Calabria, to quell a revolt in Apulia, fitted out an expedition, and took the islands of Malta and Gozo ^a. All his objects of territorial aggrandizement were now accomplished. The Norman adventurers, who, a few years before, had left France with no inheritance but their swords, were now in possession of more than constitutes the modern kingdom of Naples.

The Count now betook himself to carry into effect the plan concerted with Urban, for the ecclesiastical regulation of the island ^b. He instituted episcopal sees at Palermo, Messina, Syracuse, Catania, Girgenti, and Mazzara. Most of the first prelates were Normans ^c.

^a Fazellus, Decad. lib. vii. c. 1.

^b Malaterra, lib. iv. c. 7.

^c The first Bishop of Messina was Robert of Evroult, the Norman, translated from Traina.

The first Bishop of Catania was Angerius, a native of Brittany, who had been a monk of St. Euphemia.

The conqueror of Sicily might now have hoped to have passed his few remaining years in peace, but, to the end of his life, he was kept on the alert by the necessities of his nephew, who was ill able to govern Calabria by himself. In 1096 the Count crossed the streights, to assist the Duke of Calabria in putting down a rebellion at Amalfi^a. Half his force consisted of Saracens^b,

The first Bishop of Syracuse was Rogerius, a Norman.

The first Bishop of Mazzara was Stefanus de Feno, a native of Rouen, and a cousin of Count Roger.

The first Bishop of Agrigentum was Gerlandus, a Burgundian.

The Archbishops of Palermo, having been found Greeks, for some time remained so.

Gerlandus must have had both an easy, and uneasy, time of it, for, in his days, and down to those of William II., almost all the population of Agrigentum were Saracens; and if, in consequence, his benefice was nearly a sinecure, he passed his life in continual alarms; so much so, that having built a cathedral, he thought it necessary to build a tower for its defence, for which he brought large stones from the ruins of the Greek city. No vestiges either of his cathedral or his tower remain.

^a Lupus Protospata.

^b Quando i Normanni conquistarono la Sicilia era essa di Saraceni popolata, abbondante, e ripiena. Quindi i Normanni a coloro non imposero che i militari servizi, e l'obbligo di pagare qualche tributo.

Ruggieri il Conte ebbe nei Saracini tanta fidenza che ne formava di ordinario un corpo di sua milizia, il quale era tanto piu di apprezzare quanto non poteva esser soggetta alla limitazione del servizio feudale.

Il conte ne usò in varie occasioni, e massimamente nelle

who fought side by side with the Normans, and were almost the only troops who accompanied the Count back to Sicily, for his Normans, carried away by the enthusiasm of the times, left him in such great numbers to join the Crusaders^a, that, for the first time in his life, he was obliged to relinquish his enterprise^b. In 1098 he again repaired to Calabria, to reduce Capua to obedience, and, at nearly seventy years of age, astonished the most youthful warriors by the vigour of his powers both of body and mind^c. In return for his services, the Duke of Calabria made

guerre di Amalfi, di Cozensa, e di Capoa, e il Rè Ruggieri suo figlio, contro i Baroni e le Città ribelli, e contro Lotario Imperadore, ed in altre spedizioni, si meno con seco i Saracini di Sicilia. Gregorio nelle sue Considerazioni, e nei Discorsi.

^a Robert of Normandy, and his brother-in-law, the Count of Perche, on their way to the Holy Land with their forces, took the route of Italy, and wintered in Apulia and Calabria; in the spring embarking at Brindisi.

Robertus, vero, Normannus, et Stefanus Blesensis, sororius ejus, in Apulia et Calabriâ hiemaverunt. Ordericus Vitalis, lib. ix.

^b Boemundus, autem, videns plurimam multitudinem per Apuliam, sed sine principe, illorsum accelerare, signum ejusdem expeditionis, crucem videlicet, vestibus suis apponit. Porro juvenus bellica totius exercitus tam Ducis, quam Comitis, ad id faciendum certatim concurrunt Dux autem, et Comes, exercitum suum maximâ ex parte sibi taliter defecisse videntes tristes expeditionem solvunt. Malaterra, lib. iv. c. 24.

^c Malaterra, lib. iv. c. 26.

over to him the jurisdiction of half the city of Palermo.

Having again gone to Calabria, on a similar errand, in 1101, the Great Count, (as he is usually called by the old writers,) ^a fell sick, and ^b died at Melito, lamented by all his subjects, Normans, Lombards, Greeks, and Saracens.

Over the various population by which Sicily was inhabited, he had presided with strict impartiality. All were governed by their own laws: the Greeks, by the Code of Justinian, the Normans, by the Coutoumier de Normandie, and the Saracens, by the Koran. In consequence, during the reign of the Count, all were contented, and all lived harmoniously together. It was not till afterwards that the Saracens discovered they were a conquered people.

At this time four languages were commonly used in Sicily; the Greek, the Latin, the Arabic, and the Norman. All laws and deeds were published in three tongues, and Arabic inscriptions were seen on the reverse of the coins.

Perhaps this is the place to inquire to what may be attributed the astonishing triumphs of the Normans, as well over victorious Saracens, as over degenerate Greeks. The chroniclers may

^a Anno Domini 1101, obiit Maximus Comes Rogerius pater Regis Rogerii. Appendix ad Malaterram.

^b Apud Melitum, in Ecclesiâ, quam ipse fundaverat, sepultum est. Malaterra, lib. v. c. 1.

have augmented the disproportion of numbers, but making all due allowance for such exaggerations, the achievements of the Normans still appear almost miraculous, and even their enemies testify that the charge of their cavalry was irresistible^a. It was partly the armour in which they were encased, partly the character of their antagonists, partly, local jealousies. In Calabria, the enmity of the Lombards to the Greeks; in Sicily, the enmity of the Greeks to the Saracens. But the causes of their uniform success, are chiefly to be found in the manly and martial exercises to which the Normans were accustomed from their earliest years; in the chivalrous and adventurous spirit of the age, which excited their minds; and, above all, in that confidence in self which makes the soldier invincible. Each individual Norman was, in effect, a legion.

^a Γνωσκων την πρωτην κατα των εναντιων ιππασιαν των Κελτων ανυποιστον. Anna Comnena, lib. v. p. 133.

CHAPTER V.

ON the death of Roger, his eldest son, Simon, was acknowledged Count of Sicily, but, as Simon was only ten years old, the regency was placed in the hands of the Countess Adelaide, a woman of considerable abilities, but haughty and avacious^a. Simon died in a few years, and the regency of Adelaide was continued till the majority of her second son, Roger, who, by his manly bearing, his quickness of intellect, and his thirst for information, excited hopes and expectations which he afterwards more than fulfilled.

Scarcely had the young Count assumed the reins of government, before an embassy arrived from Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, to solicit the hand of his mother^b. Baldwin's real object was the wealth which the Countess was known to possess. The ambitious Adelaide was dazzled with the prospect of a crown, and willingly accepted the proposal; but, after two years' marriage, she discovered that Baldwin had another

^a Alexander Celesinus, lib. 1.
Ordericus Vitalis.

^b Alex. Celes,

wife, and, returning to Sicily in disgust, she soon after died, in the convent to which she had retired at Patti, of vexation and disappointment.

The career of Roger II. was the best which could have followed that of his great predecessor. What the father had acquired with the sword, the son brought into order. The legislator succeeded to the conqueror, and, though Roger II. was long interrupted by turbulent times, and, influenced by the spirit of the age, did not abstain from unnecessary triumphs, yet his mind was constantly bent on securing the prosperity of his realm, and the happiness of his people, by useful institutions, wise laws, and the encouragement of the arts.

The young ruler began vigorously, by clearing the highways of robbers, and repressing those symptoms of a relaxed control which the regency had left behind. But scarcely had he contracted a matrimonial alliance with Elvira, the daughter of Alphonso, King of Castile, when he was called into the field by the renewed applications of his cousin, the Duke of Calabria^a, and was rewarded for his first exploit in arms by the concession of the remaining half of the sovereignty of Palermo^b. On the cessation of hostilities, he returned to Sicily, and his pacific occupations, and, fortunately for himself, by an exact attention to

^a Ugone Falcando.

^b Ugone Falcando, anno 1122.

his finances, replenished the coffers of the state.

The Duke of Calabria was succeeded by a son, who died in a few years, without children. No sooner did the Count of Sicily receive intelligence of this event, than he claimed the succession, and, without loss of time, repaired to Salerno, which had now become the capital of Calabria*.

The difficulties he had to contend with were the rival claims of Boemond, and the fiery temper of the great Apulian barons, who had become impatient of control under the kind, but feeble, sway of their two last rulers.

Fortune at first was propitious. The Salernitans, after some hesitation, acknowledged the claims of the Count. Amalfi followed their example. Ranulfus, Count of Alifé, reputed to be the first captain of the age, sent in his adhesion^b. But Honorius II., who then filled the papal chair, apprehending that, if both sides of the Pharos were in the same hands, the Norman power might become dangerous to the see of Rome, declared that it was the right of the Pope to decide between the claims of Roger and of Boemond, and that the Count had grievously transgressed by asserting his pretensions without reference to the legitimate empire. Repairing to Benevento, Honorius

* Quantocyus Salernum contendit. Alex. Celes. lib. 1.

^b Ibid. ibid.

launched the thunders of excommunication against the Count of Sicily, and summoned the barons of Apulia to defend the rights of the church^a. Glad of the excuse, the barons obeyed his call. The Prince of Bari, the Count of Oria, the Count of Brindisi, even the Count of Alifé, Raynulfus, the Count of Sicily's own brother-in-law, Raynulfus, who had so recently sent in his adhesion, all went over to the Pope, and were joined by the Prince of Capua^b.

Undaunted by so sudden and portentous a change in the aspect of his affairs, undaunted either by the spiritual ban or the multitude of his powerful enemies, the Count instantly set sail for Sicily, collected a powerful army, no less composed of Saracens than Normans, and returning, in the following spring, to Calabria, received the submissions of Otranto and Tarento, took Brindisi, and advanced to offer battle to the combined bands of his opponents^c. The two armies remained in the presence of each other for forty days, without striking a blow. At length provisions grew scarce in the enemy's camp, and the troops began to drop off^d. Honorius, fearful of being abandoned, thought it prudent to bring the struggle to a close. The barons did homage to the Count, and, for a time, peace was restored.

^a Alex. Cefes. lib. i.

^b Ibid.

^b Ibid. ibid.

^d Ibid. ibid.

It was now suggested to Roger, by his maternal uncle, that, as he now united the sovereignty of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, in his own person, it became him to assume the regal title ^a. Not displeased with the idea, but making it an invariable rule to take no important step without consulting his legitimate advisers, he summoned a parliament at Salerno, and, by enlarging the basis of the assembly, at the same time laid the foundations of a constitution ^b. Instead of the limited numbers of the council of Melfi, he summoned all the barons who held their lands in chief, the dignitaries of the church, and the individuals who enjoyed the greatest reputation for wisdom. Before these he laid his proposition, which was long and ably discussed. The unanimous vote of the assembly finally decided that Roger should assume the title of king ^c, and that he should be crowned at Palermo ^d.

^a Alex. Celes. lib. II.

^b Salernum regreditur, extra quam non longè convocatis ad se aliquibus ecclesiasticis peritissimis, atque competentioribus personis, nec non quibusdam Principibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, simulque aliis, qui sibi sunt visi, probatoribus viris, patefecit eis examinandum secretum. Alex. Celes. lib. II.

^c Ibid. ibid

^d The Norman kings of Sicily still deemed it expedient to reside at Palermo because their attention was still chiefly directed to the Saracens—to the Saracens of Africa, whose incursions they might apprehend, as well as to the Saracens

On Christmas day, 1180, the coronation of the first Norman King of Sicily took place. On that day, you would have thought, says an old chronicle, that all the riches and magnificence of the world had been collected together in that one spot*. The walls were covered with the gayest tapestry, and the pavement, with carpets of the brightest colour. The King, in complete steel, came forth from his palace on horseback, preceded by the barons of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, the bridles and accoutrements of whose steeds were enriched with silver and gold. At the cathedral they were met by nine archbishops, seventeen bishops, five abbots, and a crowd of priests. The Archbishop of Palermo anointed the King, and the Prince of Capua, as first vassal, placed the crown on his head.

The ceremonies at the church being concluded, the new king showed himself to the people, and, accompanied as before, rode through the principal streets. At the banquet which succeeded, all the vessels that were used were of silver or gold, and

of Sicily, over whom it was necessary to keep a constant superintendence. But the residence of the sovereign at Palermo, after the union of Apulia and Calabria with Sicily, afforded the Apulian and Calabrese Barons an opportunity of acquiring that degree of power and independence which, afterwards, weakened the Norman monarchy, and was a principal cause of its final subversion.

* Alex. Gelea. lib. ii. c. 10. p. 100. b. A. 1000. H.

even the menials who attended were clothed in silk.

From this time, Roger surrounded himself with the usual attributes of royalty. The costume, and ceremonials of the palace were, in great measure, copied from the court of Byzantium^a, which was, at that time, considered the model of splendour and refinement, and to which the eyes of the Greek population of Sicily were at all times directed. The court of Palermo soon became celebrated for its order and magnificence.

The language of the court was Norman French^b.

At the same time, seven officers of state were appointed, who formed the privy council, at which the king presided in person^c. This council dis-

^a Abulfeda says that the court of Palermo was ordered after the manner of the Mahomedan princes,—ad modum principum Moslemorum,—but Abulfeda was a Saracen.

^b In 1168, the Conde Arrigo says, he could do nothing at court, without the assistance of the Chancellor, quia Francorum linguam ignorabat, quæ maximè necessaria esset in Curia. Inveges, vol. iii. p. 400.

^c These seven officers were,

The High Admiral.

The High Constable, who was at the head of the land forces.

The Chancellor, who had charge of the great seal.

The Chief Justice.

The Protonotaro, or Chief Secretary.

The Chamberlain, who superintended the hereditary domains and revenues of the crown.

And the Seneschal, who was the Comptroller of the Household. Gregorio, lib. ii. c. 2.

cussed and decided upon all ordinary measures, and a parliament was convoked on particular occasions.

In the course of the following year, 1131, the King went over to Calabria, and, more like his father than his uncle, by his inability to dissemble, reopened all the sources of trouble which had been so fortunately closed. He suffered himself to be so irritated by the insolent demeanour of Richard, the Count of Alifé's brother, that he deprived him of all his lands^a. About the same time, the Count of Alifé's wife, who was the King's sister, repaired to her brother at Salerno, and besought him to compel her husband to redress the wrongs which she had long endured in silence. The King espoused her cause, and summoned Raynulfus to Salerno.

Raynulfus, stung to the quick by these two simultaneous provocations, instead of obeying the commands of the King, flew into open rebellion, persuaded his former associates again to combine, and, at Nocera, won so decisive an advantage over the royal forces, that the King was compelled to return into Sicily to organize a more powerful army. It was on this occasion, that he was overtaken by the storm which led to the construction of the Cathedral of Cefalù.

In the mean time, the revolted barons made

^a Alexander Celesinus.
Hugo Falcandus.

an application to the Emperor Lothaire, and an alliance with the Pisans. It required all the resources that the King could command to withstand so formidable a league. For several years Calabria was ravaged, and its towns destroyed, by the contending armies. The Emperor sent his subsidiaries. The Pope again launched his anathemas. The King made head against them all. But it was not till the death of Raynulfus ^a, which occurred in 1139, that light began to dawn. The imprudence of Innocent I. completed the extrication of the King from all his embarrassments.

Innocent II., in spite of the death of his powerful ally, was rash enough to imitate the example of Leo IX. ^b He put himself at the head of his troops, and advanced into Calabria, to undergo a similar humiliation. By a forced march, and the most masterly manœuvres, the King surrounded the combined forces of Innocent and the Prince of Capua, and the Pope once more became the prisoner of the Normans. He was treated with the same respect, but Roger obtained from him the final acknowledgment of his claims, and the confirmation of his royal title.

^a Anno 1135 mori di febbre il Conte Rainulfo cognato ed inimico del Re. Inveges, vol. III. p. 225.

^b Hugo Falcandus.

This brought the Apulian war to a final conclusion. The Barons never revolted again. The King left off a gainer by the principality of Capua and the duchy of Naples^a. He now disbanded his army, but, before he departed from Calabria, he held a parliament at Ariano, to settle the affairs of the provinces which had so long been disturbed.

Once more at leisure, the King again applied himself to the labours of legislation, and surrounding himself with the learned and the wise of other lands, and making himself acquainted with the laws and customs of different realms^b, especially with those which had been framed by his illustrious countryman, William the Conqueror, he founded upon them a system for the better administration of justice. Without interfering with the feudal privileges, he established in each province an independent tribunal, to which there was an appeal from the courts presided over by the stratigoti and viscounts of the barons, and

^a Hugo Falcandus.

^b Gregorio. Considerazioni sulla Storia di Sicilia. Lib. II. c. 2.

The feudal lord had the right of appointing a stratigo and a viscount in every burgh. The stratigo was an officer originally introduced by the Byzantine sovereigns, as the name implies. He was the military governor, and presided over the criminal court. The viscount presided over the civil court, and received the fines, tolls, and duties which the feudal lords had a right to exact.

from which, again, there was an appeal to the *Magna Curia*, or supreme court, established at Palermo. At different times, the King convened parliaments at Palermo and Salerno, to obtain for his enactments the sanction which gave them validity throughout his realm.

Not entirely exempt from the mania of conquest, when he had subdued his enemies, the King could not resist his desire of carrying his arms into Africa. In 1148, he sent an expedition, under the command of the High Admiral, George Antiochenus, to execute his wishes. Mahadia, Sifax, and Susa, were successively attacked and taken*.

The following year the King was engaged in a much more serious undertaking,—a war with the Byzantine Emperor. The Court of Byzantium had borne ill will to the Normans ever since they became possessed of Calabria and Sicily. Roger was aware that the Greek Emperors had, at different times, endeavoured to incite both the Emperors of Germany and the Venetian States to attack his dominions. A recent insult, which Manuel Comnenus had offered to the Sicilian Ambassadors at Constantinople, kindled the sparks of resentment into a flame. George Antiochenus was dispatched with an armament to the Adria-

* Rex Rogerius Siciliæ Tripolitanam Provinciam in Africa cæpit. Cronica di Normannia.

tic, where he easily possessed himself of the island of Corfu. From thence he proceeded to the Gulph of Lepanto, and landing his forces on the coast, took and sacked both ^a Thebes and Corinth, bringing away with him a rich booty, of which the most valuable part was a number of manufacturers of silk, who, afterwards, introduced their art into Sicily ^b.

The Emperor Manuel, as might well be expected, strained every nerve to revenge these aggressions, and sent the Great Duke Stephen to besiege the Sicilian garrison in Corfu, with the most powerful armament which the empire could raise. So numerous were the vessels, that it was impossible for the Sicilian admiral to approach the island. With the hope of effecting a diversion, and inducing the Emperor to turn his attention to another quarter, George Antiochenus left the Adriatic, sailed up the Archipelago^c, and suddenly appeared before the walls of Constantinople; but not thinking it prudent, perhaps

^a Rogerius Rex Siciliae iratus Manuelli quod legatos suos de pace componenda missos contra jus gentium in carcerem conjecisset, classem Graeciae littoribus intulit ac Corcyram Thebas, Corinthum, et Chalcidem, ei eripuit. Sigonius, de Regno Ital. lib. xi. p. 282.

^b Hujus expeditionis illud memorabile fuit quod eo tempore artifices Serici conficiendi, in Siciliam, Italiamque, ex Graecia primum traducti sunt. Sigonius.

^c Nicetas, lib. ii. c. 8.

never intending, to make a serious attack, he threw a few darts into the city ^a, and returned to the Mediterranean, where he came in contact with a Byzantine fleet, over which he so far obtained a victory, as to rescue from its grasp Louis VII. of France, whom the Greeks, without the shadow of an excuse, had made their prisoner, as he returned from his unfortunate crusade ^b. The Sicilian admiral conducted his royal prize to the presence of his master, by whom Louis was courteously entertained ^c, and assisted on his way home.

In the mean time Corfu had surrendered, and the Emperor (who had joined the besiegers in person) was proceeding with his fleet to make a descent on Sicily, when he was overtaken by so tremendous a storm that half his ships were sunk, and the Emperor with difficulty made his way back to Epirus ^d.

It was long before Manuel was able to repair this disaster, and, relieved from all further solicitude in the East, the King again dispatched George Antiochenus to Africa, who fulfilled his commission with the capture of Tunis and Bona.

So successful in all his public undertakings, Roger had great domestic afflictions; of all his

^a Nicetas.

^b Chronicon Turonense.

^c Ludovici Francorum Regis Epistola ad Sugerium Abbatem.

^d Caruso, lib. ii. p. 115.

sons only retaining William^a, whom he associated with himself on the throne in 1151. In the same year the King married his third wife, Beatrix of Rieti, who, after his death, gave birth to Constantia^b.

The first King of Sicily died in 1154, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. Of him it has justly been said, that he was one of the wisest, the most renowned, the most wealthy, and the most fortunate princes of his time. But the points of view in which he appears to the greatest advantage are as the anxious legislator, and the enlightened monarch. By his own labour, and of his own free will, he presented his country with a code and a constitution^c. Sicily was never so prosperous, or glorious, as under his reign. A tranquil realm, and a full treasury, were the legacies which he bequeathed to his successor.

^a Gulielmum vix pater dignum principatu censuerat; huic igitur, quando jam alius nullus supererat, Regium diadema pater imposuit, fecitque regni participem. Hugo Falcandus.

^b Beatricem, filiam Comitis de Reteste in uxorem accepit, de qua filiam habuit Constantiam. Romualdo Salernitano.

^c Called the *Costituzioni del Regno*, fragments of which, and only fragments, are preserved in the Code afterwards introduced by Frederick II.

CHAPTER VI.

WE are now going to enter upon the reign of the sovereign who is distinguished by the surname of William the Bad; and a bad king he certainly was, without being either the tyrant of his people, or a monster of cruelty and crime. Of a morose and retiring nature, he brooded over whatever at any time had given him offence; but his besetting sin was indolence, which indisposed him to fulfil the duties of his station, and induced him to commit his realm and his people to the management of unworthy favourites. To comprehend how it was possible for such a son to descend from such a father, it must be recollected that William had two brothers, both of so much promise, that, till they died, William was made of little account. This he never recovered, and never forgave. On great emergencies he could rouse himself, and then gave proof of energy and military talent, but, as soon as the occasion was over, he sunk back into his slothful habits.

When William came to the throne, he found his kingdom in a state of unexampled prosperity. Justice was well administered; the people were content; tranquillity was in the land, and gold in

the treasury. William was already crowned, and already married to Margaret, a daughter of the King of Navarre.

His first act was to dismiss all the wise and illustrious men by whom his father had been surrounded, and place the whole direction of affairs in the hands of the son of a dealer in oil at Bari^a. Maio, in the hope of mending his fortune, had left his native town, and repaired to Palermo, in the preceding reign. His great and various abilities had attracted the notice of Roger, who gradually advanced him, from the subaltern post which he at first obtained, to the high office of Chancellor. Maio possessed a remarkably quick intellect, a ready flow of words, the most insinuating manners, and concealed the strongest and most hateful passions under a smooth exterior and a countenance imperturbably serene. He had recommended himself to William by the most adroit flattery, and an appearance of devotion to his interests, and William, on the death of his father, at once appointed Maio his prime minister.

But the serpent whom William nourished in his bosom was aiming at his life and his crown. Maio had already conceived the idea of raising himself to the throne, and was continually intent on the means of promoting his guilty design. His first care was to remove to a distance men of in-

^a Hugo Falcandus.

corruptible integrity. He then looked round for useful accomplices, and found one in Hugo, Archbishop of Palermo; a man of considerable talents and industry, but vain, profligate, and a great intriguer*. Maio did not venture to unfold to the archbishop all his inmost thoughts, but cautiously, and by degrees, hinted at the deposition of an useless king, and the government of the kingdom by the guardians of his infant children.

About this time William thought it necessary to make an exertion. Adrian had succeeded to Anastasius, and the more easily to obtain the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily from the new Pope, William repaired to Salerno. But, greatly offended at the manner in which the Pope addressed his dispatches^b, he abruptly returned to Sicily, leaving orders with his viceroy, Simon, Count of Policastro, to invade the States of the Church in the following spring.

This intemperate conduct filled the Pope with indignation. He instantly excommunicated the King of Sicily, and prepared for his defence by entering into negotiations with the Emperor of Germany and the discontented barons of Apulia and Campania. The Byzantine emperor, Emmanuel, gladly contributed his assistance.

* Placuit etiam ut Hugonem Archiepiscopum socium ac participem ejus haberet consilii. Falcandus.

^b Papa eum non Regem, sed Gulielmum Dominum Siciliae, nominabat. Romualdo Salernitano.

The allies entered Apulia with so powerful an army, that it was impossible for the Viceroy to prevent their advance; but Maio turned these disasters to his own advantage, by imputing the whole blame to Simon, (whom he hated for his virtues,) and persuading William to recall him to Palermo, and cast him into prison ^a

However menacing might the posture of affairs remain on the other side of the Pharos, a more pressing danger, nearer home, demanded Maio's earlier care. Several of the Sicilian barons, with Godfrey, Lord of Caltanissetta, and Noto, at their head, no longer able to endure the domination of the arrogant upstart, threw themselves into the fortress of Butera, and broke out into open rebellion. Maio, sensible of the necessity of arresting this movement at once, and aware that nothing but the presence of the King would have the desired effect, informed William of the insurrection, and recommended him to take the field ^b. But William was so little disposed to make the exertion, that, in the first instance, he sent Everard, Count of Squillace, who was universally beloved and esteemed, to try the experiment of negotiation ^c. Everard, on his return,

^a Ob id Robertus, ex mox Simon, Comestabilis, officio privatus et regis literis accitus, in vincla conjicitur. Maurolycus, lib. III.

^b Falcandus.

^c Comitem Ebrardum ad eos legatum mittit. Falcandus.

informed the King that the revolted barons required, as the condition of their submission, the dismissal of the prime minister, whom they accused of harbouring designs against the life of William, and of aspiring to his crown^a. The King, instead of being awakened to a sense of his danger, treated the charges as calumnies, and the barons as obstinate rebels; and, now deciding to put himself in motion, he laid siege to the fortress of Butera; but so strong was the fortress, and so gallant the defence, that William was glad to accede to terms, and suffer the defenders to depart from the island^b.

Having tranquillized Sicily, William proceeded to Calabria, which the Pope, the Barons, and the Greek Emperor had assailed at different points. He landed at Salerno, marched to Brindisi, totally defeated the forces of Emmanuel which were besieging that city, and made Alexius, the Byzantine general, his prisoner^c. He then took and destroyed the revolted city of Bari^d. His opponents were so astounded and intimidated by the King's victorious career, that Adrian IV. agreed to all his demands, and peace was restored to the Peninsula^e.

^a Falcandus.

^b Falcandus.

Maurolycus.

^c Fazellus, lib. vii. c. 4.

^d Ibid. ibid.

^e Chronicon Fossæ Novæ.

- But William only made use of his success to go back to his seclusion, and Maio took advantage of the calm to persecute his opponents. Godfrey, Count of Noto, contrary to the faith of engagements, was thrown into prison, as were also the Chancellor Ascontino, the Count Alesino, Bremond di Tarso, and Robert de Bevois. But Maio's most diabolical vengeance was reserved for the Count of Squillace, who had denounced him to the King. Having learnt that Everard had gone on an hunting party with a numerous company, Maio persuaded William that treason was in the wind, obtained from the King an order for arresting his most loyal subject, and, having got him into prison, deprived him of his eyes and his tongue^a.

The King, in the mean time, shut up in his palace, and surrounded by eunuchs and Saracens, led the life of an oriental sultan, refusing to be seen by any one but Maio and the Archbishop, from whom alone he received intelligence of what was passing in his kingdom^b.

In 1158, an attempt on the part of the Greek Emperor disturbed William's repose, but only for a moment. Emmanuel, wishing to obliterate the disgrace of his last defeat, dispatched another

^a Cui primum effossis oculis, non multo post Admiratus linguam quoque fecit abscindi. Falcandus.

^b Præterquam Admirato et Archiepiscopo accessum ad se memini concederet. Fazellus.

armament to make a descent on Sicily ; but the fleet which was dispatched to repel the invaders, obtained a complete victory ^a. The Byzantine commander was again taken prisoner, and Emmanuel, yielding to fortune, concluded a final peace.

The secluded habits of the king left Maio at full liberty to prosecute his treacherous schemes. He placed his adherents in the most important posts ;—he distributed money amongst the soldiers ;—he distributed benefices amongst the clergy ^b ;—he intrigued with the court of Rome ^c. After the terrible fate of Count Squillace, no man durst oppose him. The degree to which the King had sunk in public opinion, indisposed every one to run great dangers for his sake. Things were left to take their course, and the result was awaited in silence.

In the following year, (1159,) the realm suffered a loss, by which Maio again contrived to advance his object. Adulmamen, Sultan of Morocco, resolved to attempt the recovery of that portion of Africa which had been conquered by William's predecessor. Maio, whilst he assured the King that every preparation was made to repulse the

^a Caruso, *Memorie di Sicilia*, vol. III. p. 130.

^b Clericos quoque sæpe magnis promovebat honoribus. Falcando.

^c Caruso, vol. III. p. 134.

invasion, secretly favoured the success of the enemy; and when Mahadia, and other towns, had fallen into Adulmamen's hands, the minister spread about a report, that the avaricious King had permitted the capture to relieve himself from the expense of the garrisons,—thus increasing the odium and contempt which William had already incurred^a. But at the moment that Maio thought he was about to grasp the prize for which, during so many years, he had been toiling so hard, retribution was at hand.

Amongst the Norman barons there was one whom Maio had attached to himself, with the promise of the hand of his daughter. This was Matthew Bonel, a youth of great personal beauty and vast possessions^b. He was a favourite with the soldiers, and excelled in all the manly exercises of the times. To a high spirit he added an ardent imagination; but he had a weakness of character, which made it easy for others to mould him to their will. The young baron had excited misgivings in the mind of the minister, by his admiration of a beautiful widow, the Countess of Molisè; but regarding this passion as a juvenile aberration, and persuaded that the engagement with his daughter secured Bonel to his cause, Maio resolved to entrust him with the

^a Falcandus.

^b Ibid.

important commission of conciliating the barons of Apulia, whose opposition he had reason to apprehend^a.

But when Bonel arrived on the other side of the water, he was so worked upon by Roger de Martorano^b, (one of the most respected of the nobles of Calabria,) who reminded him of Maio's cruelties, and made him acquainted with his treasonable designs,—represented to him in glowing colours the disgrace of such an alliance, and adroitly threw in the name of the Countess of Molisè, that Bonel's attachment to Maio was changed into the most violent hatred, and he bound himself by an oath, with his own hand to rid the earth of such a monster.

Whilst these events were passing in Calabria, the good understanding between Maio and the Archbishop of Palermo had come to an end^c. In a conversation, which had reference to the division of the spoil, when their object should be gained, the accomplices disagreed, and parted in disgust, though the appearances of friendship were still preserved. Shortly afterwards the Archbishop was taken ill.

Such was the state of affairs when Bonel returned to Palermo. Informed of the quarrel between Maio and the Archbishop, he secretly repaired to the house of the latter, and acquaint-

^a Falcandus.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid.

ing him with his intentions, received from Maio's ancient associate (who suspected the cause of his own illness) every possible encouragement and promise of assistance ^a. The wickedness of their intended victim aided their design. Maio, dissatisfied with the slow effect of the poison which he had caused to be administered, went, with the Bishop of Messina, and only a few attendants, to visit the sick man, and urged him to take a remedy of the most wonderful efficacy, which he had brought for the relief of his friend ^b. The Archbishop excused himself, with many expressions of gratitude, but artfully prolonging the conversation till it was dark, sent off a trusty messenger to inform Bonel that Maio could be attacked with advantage on his return home. Bonel posted himself in a narrow street, through which he knew Maio would have to pass. Maio left the Archbishop, and had not got far before he was met by Matteo di Salerno, and his own chamberlain, who informed him that Bonel was near with a number of armed followers. Maio, greatly moved, preserved an unaltered countenance, and desired that Bonel might be summoned to his presence; but before the words were out of his mouth, Bonel, putting spurs to his horse, rushed forward ^c. "Here I am," he exclaimed; "Here

^a Falcandus.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid.

I am, to punish a traitor!" and plunging his sword into Maio's breast, at once terminated his projects and his life.

When the deed was accomplished, Bonel, with his followers, left the city, and withdrew to the castle of Caccamo, which was one of his possessions.

The people were in a tumult of joy at the death of Maio, but the King was filled with the most vehement indignation, and the Queen, Margaret, who was suspected of having been too much captivated by a man whose fascination was irresistible^a, fanned the flames of William's resentment against the assassin. The eunuchs of the palace, (at this time no less powerful at Palermo than at Constantinople,) whose good will Maio had always taken care to secure, never ceased repeating to the King that Bonel was become the idol of the populace, and insinuated that the youthful Baron might perhaps entertain the views which he imputed to Maio^b.

It soon became apparent that Bonel was in disgrace and in danger. At this time he was regarded with so much interest that his safety became an object of general solicitude. The most resolute of his friends, observing that, if Maio was dead, his spirit survived in the palace, came to the conviction that the only sure course to take

^a Hugo Falcandus.

^b *Ibid.*

would be to dethrone the King and proclaim his son, the young Duke of Apulia, in his stead. This course being determined upon, an extensive conspiracy was organized, in which several of the most powerful Barons of Sicily (most of whom had just grounds of complaint) took a part, including Simon, a natural son of the late King, and Tancred, a natural son of William's eldest brother^a. Having gained the guards, the conspirators released the prisoners of state, and entered the royal apartments. The King they took into custody, and placing the young Duke of Apulia on horseback, they paraded him through the streets, announcing that tyranny was at an end, and that the young Duke was now their Sovereign. In the mean time the palace was ransacked by an ignoble herd, who fell upon the eunuchs because they had been devoted to Maio, and having dispatched many, dispersed themselves in the city, and next attacked the Saracens, (for whom the King had always shown an offensive preference,) putting many to death, and compelling others to leave the city^b.

At first the people took part with the revolution, but, no sooner had the first effervescence

^a Hugo Falcandus.

^b Eunuchorum vero quotquot inveniri potuerunt nullus evasit. Multi quoque Sarracenorum qui vel in apothecis suis mercibus vendendis præerant, vel in Duanis fiscales reditus colligebant, ab eisdem sunt militibus interfecti. Falcandus.

subsided, than they began to doubt the justice of the deposition of the King. Doubt led to compassion, and, ere long, the conspirators, to their utter astonishment and consternation, heard loud demands reiterated for the liberation of William^a. Thus abandoned, the conspirators were obliged to release the King, and themselves withdrew from the city. At this juncture William acted with that energy, which he always displayed on trying occasions. He ordered the people to be admitted to the great hall of the palace, and when they were assembled, descended amongst them, and, addressing them with calmness, lamented the errors of the past and promised better things for the future^b. Noble sentiments had they been more than words. Loud shouts of long live William! Long live our legitimate Sovereign! were the universal reply.

The discomfited conspirators raised the standard of rebellion. The King prepared to attack them; but, still fearing that Bonel (who had kept aloof, and had received the King's pardon) might attempt something in his absence, he treacherously invited him to the palace, and, on his arrival, caused him to be arrested, threw him into prison, and, according to the barbarous custom of the times, had his

^a Falcandus.

^b Tandem descendit in aulam quæ palatio conjuncta est, jussitque populum convocari. Falcandus.

eyes put out^a. The people were now on the side of the King, and after a short effervescence, left Bonel to his fate.

It was now made public that the young Duke of Apulia, in whose name the conspirators had appealed to the country, no longer existed^b. His death was attributed to a chance arrow in the tumult, but it was more generally believed that he died of a blow which his incensed father, in a burst of passion, had given him, the first time the father and son met after the boy had been proclaimed.

The King, now taking the field with an army, half composed of Saracens, fell upon the places which were in the hands of the rebels. He destroyed Piazza, but was again baffled by Butera, and again obliged to permit its defenders to depart unpunished^c. He then hastened to Calabria, which was again in open revolt, and, assisted by his Saracens, obtained the complete ascendancy, compelling the Count of Loritello, the Counts of Fondi, Acerra, and Conza, to withdraw to the court of Frederick Barbarossa^d. On

^a Falcandus.

^b Cum enim, ut alii aiebant, liberato patri puer applaudens occurreret, pater indignatus quod illum quasi sibi prælatum hostes sui Regem appellaverant, repulit cum a se, et calce percussum quanti potuit impetu perturbavit. Unde vix ille digressus, ad Reginam quæ passus fuerat pertulit, nec multum postea super vixit. Falcandus.

^c Ibid.

^d Caruso.

his return to Sicily he found Palermo in a tumult, from the cruelties of the Gaieto Martin^a, whom William had left governor of the city, and who, to revenge a brother who had been slain when the palace was attacked, not having been able to discover the assassin, had been waging a general persecution against all the Christians, assisted by Robert di Calatabiano, Governor of the Castello di mare, who tormented the prisoners placed under his charge by Martin's orders, in the most relentless manner^b.

Having appeased the tumult, William, uninstructed by the past, deputed his whole authority to Matteo di Salerno^c, a creature of Maio's, the Bishop elect of Syracuse, and the Gaieto Peter^d, a Christian only in name, like all the other eunuchs of the palace, and the more odious because, in obedience to Maio's instructions, he had betrayed Mahadia to the Sultan of Morocco. Of

^a Falcandus.

^b Caruso.

^c Falcandus.

^d Gaietus Petrus, eunuchus, isque, sicut et omnes eunuchi Palatii, nomine tantum, habituque, Christianus erat. Falcandus.

Gaieto was a title of distinction amongst the Saracens. In its original sense, the Arabic word meant captain, or commander, but it was afterwards applied to other functionaries, or persons of consideration. The Gaieto Peter was Magister Camerarius Palatii. In the time of William I. the office of High Chamberlain was always held by a Saracen, and Saracens filled most of the situations in the royal household.

this ill-assorted trio, the bishop elect was the best, but he was constantly thwarted and circumvented by the wiles and jealousies of his two colleagues, and had the more difficult task to perform, as Peter had obtained an ascendancy over the mind of the Queen^a. Peter was not entirely without good qualities; he was liberal, mild, and would have been disposed to govern with a gentle hand, had not the remembrance of the massacre of his Saracenic brethren, during the disturbances at Palermo and Piazza, set him against the Christians. As it was, Falcando asserts that the government and the administration of justice were, at this time, worse conducted in Sicily than would have been the case had the island fallen into the power of hostile barbarians.

Having thus relieved himself from all the cares of state, William returned to all his former habits: shut himself up in his palace, and, directing that no unpleasant intelligence should be conveyed to him, gave himself up to a life of luxurious indolence^b. The only pursuit in which he sought to

^a Caruso.

^b Rex autem familiares suos præmonueret ut nihil eo quod mæstitiam, aut solitudinem posset ingerere, nunciarent, ac se totum deinceps voluptati devovens, cœpit animo latius vagari, cogitans ut quia pater ejus Favaram, Mimmernum, aliaque delectabilia loca, fecerat, ipse quoque novum palatium construeret quod commodius ac diligentius compositum, videretur universis patris operibus præminere. Falcandus.

rival his father was that of architecture. He had, at various times, embellished his palaces, and he now commanded a villa to be constructed which was to surpass in magnificence both Favara and Mimmernus. Whilst he was eagerly urging on these operations, he was seized with a dysentery, which baffled the art of the Salernitan school, and put a period to his existence in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign^a. His death was ostentatiously bewailed. For three days the noble matrons of Palermo^b, but chiefly the Saracens, (whose grief was not pretended,) dressed in sackcloth, and with dishevelled hair, went about the city in troops, by day and by night, filling the air with their lamentations, and responding to the low beat of drums with mournful strains.

^a Falcandus.

^b Ibid.

CHAPTER VII.

By the will of the late King, (as his eldest surviving son, William, had not yet completed his fourteenth year,) Margaret, the Queen Mother, was appointed Regent; and Matteo di Salerno, the Bishop elect of Syracuse, and the Gaieto Peter, were the council nominated to assist the Queen in the government of the kingdom.

The usual hopes of a new reign, justified by the mild disposition of the young Prince^a, the liberation of state prisoners, the recall of exiled barons, the mitigation of duties, and other acts of grace and indulgence, would have filled the land with gladness, had it not been perceived that the Queen Mother gave by far the larger share of her confidence to the Gaieto Peter^b. The murmurs, on this subject, soon became so loud that the Count of Gravina, a near relation of the Queen, and, at that time, commander of the forces in Campania^c, repaired to Palermo, at once to persuade Margaret to dismiss her favourite, and to promote views of his own. Peter was a

^a Falcandus.

^b Gaieto Petro summâ rerum omnium potestate concessâ.

rank coward, and when he learnt the object of Gravina's arrival, and found that the Count was likely to be supported by the most powerful of the Norman barons, he resolved to withdraw himself from the approaching storm. One morning, it was announced to the Queen that, during the night, the Gaieto Peter, taking with him the greater part of his valuables, had set sail for Africa ^a.

The Count of Gravina now made a push for power, but so much opposition and intrigue was set in action by the native candidates for office, that the Queen, for the sake of tranquillity, was obliged to remind the Count that his presence was desirable in Campania ^b.

This commotion offered a lesson which was thrown away upon Margaret, who, not feeling sufficient confidence in those by whom she was now surrounded, and having heard the highest character of her relation, Stephen, a younger son of the Count of Perche ^c, with the best intentions, but little discretion, pressed him, in the most

^a Navem conscendens ad Masmudorum regem in Africam transfretavit. Falcandus.

^b Regina Comiti Gravinensi præcipit ut maturet in Apuliam proficisci. Ibid.

^c Scripserat Regina avunculo suo, Rotomagensi Archiepiscopo, ut aliquem de consanguiniis suis vel Robertum de Novo Burgo, si fieri posset, vel Stephanum Comitis Perticensis filium sibi transmitteret. Ibid.

urgent manner, to repair to Sicily, and assist her in the government of the kingdom. Yielding to her solicitations, Stephen came to Palermo, with thirty-seven followers of different degrees, amongst whom was Peter of Blois, who was destined to become one of the young king's preceptors. On his arrival, the illustrious stranger was elevated to the vacant archiepiscopal see of Palermo, appointed Lord High Chancellor, and placed at the head of affairs.

Stephen deserved his reputation. To great abilities he added firmness of purpose, the most disinterested integrity, and a sincere love of justice. Scarcely was he installed in his high office before he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances of the kingdom, and then vigorously applied himself to remedy the grievances and reform the abuses. Corruption and venality were unmasked, the administration of justice was purified, the people were no longer oppressed. In a short time the public voice declared, that an angel was come down from heaven to heal the wounds of the past and bring back a golden age^a.

But, however beneficial the change was to the country, it could not be acceptable to those who

^a Omnes assererent velut consolatorem angelum a Deo missum. Falcandus.

had prospered on a contrary system ^a. Matteo di Salerno, and the Bishops of Agrigentum and Catania, detested the reformer, and even the Elect of Syracuse had the assurance to tell him, that if such things were the custom in France, they were by no means the custom in Sicily ^b. Soon afterwards, the Chancellor added the eunuchs of the palace to the number of his enemies, by the condign punishment of their infamous partisan, the cruel Roberto di Calatabiano ^c.

For two years ^d, Stephen kept his ground, detecting the conspiracies which were formed against his life, defeating and forgiving his enemies, and continuing to deserve the blessings of the people. But virtue is no match for the wiles of the wicked. The persevering malice of Matteo di Salerno organized a new conspiracy ^e. The Saracens of the body guard were corrupted by the money of the Gaieto Richard. Desperate men were excited by the hopes of plunder. The people were deluded by a report, artfully circulated, that the Chancellor was about to load a ship with the royal treasures, and escape back to France.

^a Viri potentes qui jam non poterent libere solitam in subiectos exercere tyrannidem. Falcandus.

^b Ibid.

^c Ad Castellum Maris ductus est et carceri datus ubi olim multos ipse conjeceret. Ibid.

^d Ibid.

^e Ibid.

More was not wanting to set Palermo in a ferment. An armed multitude attacked the archiepiscopal palace. The guard was dispersed, and the Chancellor was obliged to seek refuge in the belfry of the cathedral ^a. Thus much effected, Matteo di Salerno and his accomplice Richard caused the tocsin of alarm to be sounded ^b, upon which the whole people, Christians and Saracens, thinking it was done by the King's command, rushed to the cathedral, and, with loud shouts and cries, began to besiege the tower in which the Chancellor had taken refuge. But the tower was so strong that it baffled all their efforts; and Matteo di Salerno, fearing that the patience of the populace would be exhausted, hurried to the palace, and alarming the Regent and her youthful son with exaggerated accounts of the disturbance, advised them to calm the public mind, by inviting the Chancellor and all his French retainers to leave Sicily ^c. The Chancellor at once agreed to the proposal, and, embarking the next morning, departed from the kingdom. Thus did a deluded people expel from their shores a benefactor and a friend.

^a Per ecclesiam, quæ domui suæ erat contigua, in Campanarii fortissimam ut in plano munitionem se recepit. Falcandus.

^b Matthæus Notarius et Gaytus Richardus, servis buccinariis accersitis, præceperunt ut ante domum Cancellarii tubis ac tympanis personarent. Ibid.

^c Ibid.

When the Chancellor was gone, the government fell into the hands of his opponents. Matteo di Salerno, the Gaieto Richard, the Bishops of Agrigentum, Catania and Salerno, the Elect of Syracuse, and the Counts of Geraci, Molisè, and Montescaglioso, formed the new council, together with Walter Ofamilio, Dean of Agrigentum, who, in the situation of sub-preceptor to the young king, had obtained so much influence over the mind of his pupil, as to have excited the jealousy of the Queen Mother^a. The enmity of the Queen was, at the time, a recommendation to a faction who had just triumphed over her favourite, and forced their way to power against her inclinations. Circumstances, at this moment, threw another advantage in Ofamilio's way. The Chancellor, at his departure, had resigned his archiepiscopal dignity; and the Council, wishing as soon as possible to fill up the vacant preferment, hastily placed the Palermitan mitre on the head of their new colleague^b.

The next year the King came of age, and his first act was to appoint Walter Ofamilio his prime minister^c.

Walter was by birth an Englishman, and had

^a Falcandus.

^b Gualterium, Agrigentinum Decanum et Regis Magistrum, sibi in Pastorem unanimiter elogerunt. Romualdus Salernitanus.

^c Itaque summa regni potestas penes Gualterium erat. Falcandus.

been recommended to the Court of Sicily by Henry II., who, wishing to bring about an alliance between his daughter Joan and the young King, was glad to place about him a man whose abilities he had remarked, and upon whose fidelity he could depend.

But how was it that Walter could succeed where Stephen failed? Walter, equally an alien, and by no means Stephen's equal in great qualities. Because, desirous of the same improvements, he went more gently to work, and did not refuse to share his power with Matteo di Salerno, the Elect of Syracuse, and even the Gaieto Richard. In addition to this, he was steadily and faithfully supported by the King; nor can a more gratifying position be conceived than that of the philanthropic Mentor for twenty years assisting his royal pupil to carry into effect those benevolent principles which he had himself instilled^a.

The marriage, however, which Walter was

^a Gualterio fù di nazione Inglese, capellano d'Arrigo 2. Re d'Inghilterra, il qual Re, havendo pensiero di dar Giovanna sua figlia per moglie a Gulielmo il giovane Rè di Sicilia, l'avea inviato in questo regno a finehe fosse Maestro del giovanetto Rè. Inveges. vol. III. p. 413.

Inveges says he took great pains to discover what Walter's *English armorial bearings* were. No wonder he found it a difficult research; for Walter, known to have been of plebeian origin, was probably the son of a Miller, as his surname implies. "Ofamilio, come divessimmo noi," says Caruso, *del Molino*—Walter of the Mill.

sent to promote, and which the ambassadors of Henry II. soon proposed, did not take place for some years afterwards, perhaps delayed by the hostility of the Court of Rome, which Henry II. had drawn upon himself by his quarrels with Thomas of Becket^a. Henry, at the same time that he proposed the marriage, sought to enlist on his side the great influence which the King of Sicily was known already to possess with the Roman pontiff, and, to effect his object, gained the Elect of Syracuse (who was an Englishman^b as well as Walter) with the promise of the See of Lincoln. At that time, however, nothing could be done. But, though other matrimonial alliances were subsequently proposed to William, none took effect, and, ultimately, the wishes of Henry were accomplished.

The greatest tribute to the virtues of William II.

^a That this was the case may be collected from Becket's own words, for, in a letter written in 1168, (Lib. III. Epist. 79,) he says, "Richard, Bishop elect of Syracuse, corrupted by the expectation of the See of Lincoln, assists my persecutors with every means in his power; they have even promised the King of England's daughter in marriage to the King of Sicily."

^b Peter of Blois, who went to Sicily in the train of Stephen, Count of Perche, in a letter addressed, after his departure from the island, to Richard, Bishop of Syracuse, says, "Foveat Anglia me senem quæ vos fovit infantem. Velitis apponi patribus vestris et Anglia cineres vestros, quos produxit, excipiat." Petri Blesensis, Epistola 46.

and the system upon which his government was conducted, is, that after his accession to the throne, there is little to record. No more of those stirring wars, revolts, and dark conspiracies, which, if they diversified, distracted, the former reign. Peace and the happiness of his people, were the main objects of William II. But, like the surface of an unruffled lake, his reign was not the less bright, because it was tranquil.

In 1169, William made peace with the Pisans ^a, and in 1175, with the Genoese ^b.

One thing alone William held dearer than peace, the preservation of good faith. In the long struggle between Alexander III. and Barbarossa, William remained the steady ally of the Pope, and adhering to his engagements, on this occasion did not shrink from having recourse to the sword. In the battle near Le Celle, in the Abruzzi ^c, the forces of the King of Sicily obtained so decisive an advantage that the Emperor, who had before sought to detach William from Alexander, now attempted to shake his constancy with the offer of his daughter in marriage ^d. William declined the alliance, but

^a Caruso.

^b Ibid.

^c Anon. Cass. Chron.

^d Interea prædictus Cancellarius, ex mandato Imperatoris nuncios ad Gulielmum Siciliæ Regem transmisit, suadens et postulans ut ipse, Imperatoris filiâ in uxorem recepta, cum eo pacem perpetuam faceret. Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon.

the Pope, alarmed at the bare idea of such a contingency, now recommended the immediate accomplishment of William's marriage with the daughter of Henry II. ^a

The next year William was again in his element, as a party to the important treaty which put an end to the wars by which Italy had so long been ravaged. At the previous congress of the allies at Ferrara, when Alexander mentioned the name of William, all present expressed their satisfaction at the co-operation of a prince who was so acknowledged a friend of peace and justice ^b.

In 1181, William concluded a final treaty with the Emperor of Morocco ^c. At this time he was occupied with his greatest architectural work, the cathedral of Morreale; which still affords a proof of the excellence of Sicilian art, and offers the most splendid remaining example of the Byzantine style.

In 1183, Margaret, the Queen Mother, died ^d.

^a *Interea Rex Gulielmus, consilio Papæ Alexandri, nuncios ad Regem Henricum in Angliam misit ut ei Joannam minorem filiam suam in uxorem daret. Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon.*

^b "Quod autem illustrem Regem Siciliæ ad consortium nostræ pacis adciscitis, gratum nobis residet, plurimum et acceptum, quia eum amatorem pacis, et cultorem justitiæ, recognoscimus." *Ibid.*

^c Caruso.

^d Inveges.

She had never interfered since the majority of her son, and, though at one time Walter's enemy, must have seen with pleasure his success in effecting those improvements which she had herself desired, but had not been able to accomplish.

In 1185, animated by the same anxious desire to preserve his people from the scourge of war, William consented to that fatal alliance which produced consequences the very reverse of those he fondly expected to secure. The King had now given up the hopes of legitimate offspring, and, under the impression that a powerful arm alone could restrain the violence of the turbulent barons, he thought that he gave his people the best chance of tranquillity by uniting Constantia, the sister of his father, to the son of Frederick Barbarossa, and, at the same time exacting from his vassals an oath to recognize that princess as the legitimate sovereign of the kingdom of Sicily, should himself die without leaving male issue*. Alas! all his precautions were vain.

* *Erat ipsi Regi amita quædam in Palatio Panormitano ; quam idem Rex, de consilio jam dicti Archiepiscopi, Henrico Alamannorum Regi, filio Friderici Romanorum Imperatoris, in conjugem tradidit. Quo etiam procurante factum est, ut, ad Regis ipsius mandatum, omnes regni Comites sacramentum præstiterint, quod si Regem ipsum absque liberis mori contingeret, tanquam fideles ipsi amitæ suæ tenerentur, et dicto Regi Alemanniæ viro ejus. Richardi de S. Germano Chronicon.*

The marriage was solemnized at Milan, in the commencement of the following year^a. The son of Barbarossa was at that time in the flower of his youth. His fine features produced an impression in his favour, and all, who were present, anticipated a beneficial result.

In the same year Alexius Comnenus, nephew of the Emperor Emanuel, came to Sicily to invoke the aid of William against the tyrant Andronicus, who had not only usurped the Byzantine throne, but put the rightful heir to death^b. William was so far moved by his indignation at the crime and his compassion for the suppliant, that he sent him back with a large armament, of which he gave the command to Tancred, Count of Lecce^c. The Sicilians took Durazzo, Thessalonica, and Amphipolis. In the mean time, the Greeks of Constantinople had slain the usurper, and elevated Angelus to the throne. But the imprudence of

^a Costanza, scrive Sigonio, con gran committiva essendo stata condotta, Federico, Imperatore, suo Socero la riceve in Milano, et al 27 di Gennaio, negli orti di S. Ambrogio, con splendidissima apparato le nozze celebrò con Arrigo, Rè di Germania. Era Arrigo, scrive Gottifredo Viterbiense, giovane di bellissimo aspetto, haveva lodevole militia, audacia, liberalita, benevolenza, pietà, justitia, e di tutte quelle regie virtuti era dotato che in giovenil età desiderar si passono. Inveges. vol. III. p. 454.

^b Fazellus.

Maurolycus.

^c Caruso.

one of the Sicilian commanders, who was disappointed at not getting to Constantinople, not only prolonged hostilities, but exposed the land forces of the Sicilians to an unexpected attack in which they were defeated with great loss. Tancred, who had gone up with the fleet to the sea of Marmora, waited in vain for his companions, and returning to Thessalonica, brought off the remnant of the army, and conveyed them back to Sicily. The next year the High Admiral, Mergharitone, one of the most distinguished naval commanders of his time, retrieved the honour of the Sicilian arms by the total defeat of the Greek fleet, near Cyprus^a.

1187. The melancholy intelligence now arrived in Europe of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin. Another crusade was decided upon. William made peace with the Greek Emperor, and, taking the cross, in conjunction with the Emperor of Germany, the Kings of France and England, and other princes, sent Mergharitone with a large armament, to succour Tripoli. This object was effected, and the fleet of Saladin was destroyed^b.

William had the satisfaction of hearing of this event, but, soon after, was seized with an illness, which put a period to his existence in his thirty-sixth year. His last injunctions were, that Constantia should be recognized as his lawful heir,

^a Caruso.

^b Maurolycus.

and that the oath which had been already taken in her favour, should be observed.

If to intend the happiness of a people is the best praise of a monarch, to carry that intention into effect, and to bring back a distracted realm from disorder to tranquillity, and that in turbulent times, is the proof of no common capacity. It is only a fine hand that can manage the fiery steed. How difficult did it appear to control the powerful barons of Sicily and Apulia in the preceding reign; to compose the enmities between the Saracens and the Christians! Yet neither insurrections nor dissensions were heard of during the reign of William II.

Instead of delegating his power to unworthy favourites, like his unhappy father, William II. anxiously selected the men that were best adapted for the situations in which they were placed, and, attending himself to all the duties of his station, was respected by the barons, beloved by the people, and only feared by the wicked. He did not further amend the constitution, but he caused the laws which existed to be obeyed. He made no conquests, but he maintained the dignity of the crown and the honour of the Sicilian name. He had armies which distinguished themselves in the field—fleets which were surpassed by none in the Mediterranean. He was no less considered by the

• Caruso, lib. iv. p. 206.

Greek Emperor and the Mahometan Sultan, than by the Italian States ; and how much he deserved to be valued by his own subjects, may be collected from the words of an old chronicler, who says, that " in the time of William II. there was more security in the thickets of Sicily than in the cities of other kingdoms."

It is not always that men applaud their benefactors the most ; but the days of William the Good are still in the recollection of a grateful posterity.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON the death of William II., a Parliament was assembled at Palermo. In the debate which took place on the important question of the succession, the jealousy which had long existed between Archbishop Walter, and Matteo di Salerno, broke out in full force^a. Walter advocated the obligation of adhering to the oath which the Barons had already taken in favour of Constantia. Matteo di Salerno, on the contrary, besought his countrymen not to reduce Sicily to the condition of a province, not to surrender the kingdom to a stranger; to revert to the male line, and choose for their sovereign Tancred, Count of Lecce, the grandson of King Roger. The feelings of the Sicilians took part with Matteo, and a large majority of votes decided in favour of Tancred.

The new sovereign of Sicily was solemnly crowned in Palermo, in the month of December 1189.

Fortune had hitherto exposed Tancred to many

^a Factum est autem, ut cum suis complicitibus, ne pars Archiepiscopi prævaleret, Cancellarius obtinuerit in hâc parte, et tunc vocatus Panormum, Tancredus, Comes Licii, Romanâ, in hâc, Curiâ dante assensum, per ipsum Cancellarium coronatus est in Regem. Richardi de S. Germano Chronicon.

vicissitudes. By the jealousy of William I., he had been detained many years a prisoner of state in the palace of Palermo—from whence, having been liberated by the conspirators in 1161, he fled, on the failure of that insurrection, to Constantinople, and there remained till the death of William. On the accession of William II., Tancred returned to Calabria, married Sibylla, daughter of the Count of Acerra, and, having won the esteem of the King, his cousin, was entrusted with military commands, in which he had always done himself credit. He was worthy of the race from which he sprung; distinguished for his valour, his firmness, and his capacity, and informed, and accomplished, beyond the habits of the age. He had a considerable knowledge of mathematics and astronomy, and took great delight in music*.

A less energetic character would have been unequal to the situation in which Tancred was placed. Tranquillity had disappeared with the undisputed rights of William. His successor had to maintain his authority and defend his crown, as well as to govern his people; in addition to which, the Crusaders, by their inconvenient visit, threw another difficulty into the bubbling cauldron of his reign.

Scarcely had Tancred mounted the throne

* Istrutissimo anche nelle matematiche, nell' astrologia, e nella musica. Caruso, lib. vi. p. 208.

when the consequence of nearly equal pretensions appeared in the revolt of the Count of Andria, who, possessed of large domains, and nearly related to the late King, refused to acknowledge Tancred as his sovereign^a. Andria received assistance from the Emperor of Germany, and laid waste the Terra di Lavoro, but Tancred's brother-in-law, the Count of Acerra, and his partisans in Apulia, defeated the insurgents, and, storming the fortress of St. Agatha, in which Andria had shut himself up, took him prisoner, and put him to death.

In the mean time, Philip Augustus of France and Richard of England, having agreed to meet in Sicily, on their way to the Holy Land, arrived at Messina^b. Tancred hastened from Palermo, to shew every mark of courtesy to his illustrious guests, and contributed to the expedition an armament of one hundred sail, completely to fulfil the engagements of William II.—But the King of England demanded, in addition, the cession of the county of St. Angelo in Apulia, with several towns and castles, by way of dowry, for his sister, the widow of the late King. Tancred, astonished at so unexpected a demand, interposed delays. The impatient Richard, whose forces were encamped without the walls of the city, as the

^a Richardi de S. Germano Chronicon.

^b Maurolycus.

shortest way of bringing matters to a conclusion, attacked, and took possession of two fortresses near the Pharos. This aggression led to a skirmish between the Messinese and the English; upon which Richard put himself at the head of his men, stormed one of the gates, entered the city sword in hand, slew many Sicilians, and planted his leopard on the walls of Messina^a.

Such an act of violence was considered by the French King to be so disrespectful to himself, as well as unjust to Tancred, that Philip Augustus offered the King of Sicily the use of his whole army to revenge the insult. But the prudent Tancred, aware how inexpedient it was to add the wrath of Richard to all his other embarrassments, preferred moderation, and made the King of England so handsome a proposition, in satisfaction of his demands, that the misunderstanding was soon brought to a termination.

The Kings of France and England remained six months at Messina, in the course of which Richard learnt to admire the frank and gallant character of Tancred. On the return of spring, the two royal visitors set sail for Palestine, to the no small relief of their host.

During the King's absence from Palermo, the

^a Ricardus iratus scalis, et igne portis injecto, urbem (Messanam,) expugnat. Maurolycus.

Matthæi Paris Historia Angliæ.

Saracens, for the first time, began to be oppressed by the Christians^a, and were maltreated to such a degree that many of them fled to the mountains. No sooner was Tancred at leisure, than he used his utmost exertions to appease these unhappy dissensions, compelled the Saracens to return to the capital, upon the faith of his royal protection, and made up the breach for the time.

The same year his presence was required in

^a *Quinque Saracenorum Regulos, qui ob metum Christianorum ad montana confugerent de montanis ipsis Panorum redire coegit invitos. Richardi S. Germano Chronicon.*

From this time the condition of the Saracens grew progressively worse. What it became in the days of Frederick II. of Arragon, and what is the effect of bigotry even upon superior natures, may be tested by the laws, affecting the Saracens, which were framed by a Prince of, in other respects, distinguished liberality.

1. De signo dependendo a Saracenis ut discernentur a Christianis.—They were ordered to wear a red stripe across the breast, which was, of course, felt to be, what it was intended for, a badge of degradation. Mixed marriages had long been absolutely interdicted.

2. De servis Saracenis ad fidem Catholicam redire volentibus et pœna impediendum.

3. De non affligendis servis, nec membris incidendis, *post* baptisma.

4. De baptizando partu servorum.

Under the effects of systematic persecution, the oppressed minority dwindled away, and the miserable remainder, together with the Jews, were swept from the face of Sicily by Ferdinand the Catholic, who, in 1491, published an edict ordaining all persons not professing the Catholic faith, to depart from his dominions.

the Abruzzi, to reduce the Count Rinaldo, a revolted Baron, to obedience. This accomplished, Tancred held a Parliament at Termole, and then repaired to Brindisi, to assist at the marriage of his eldest son, Roger, Duke of Apulia, with Irene, a daughter of the Greek Emperor ^a.

Tancred's severest struggle was now at hand. Henry, the husband of Constantia, had succeeded his father in the Western Empire. Considering the kingdom of Sicily as the right of his wife, he regarded Tancred as an usurper, and was resolved to lose no time in compelling him to descend from his throne. Arriving in Italy, in the month of April 1191, with a large army, Henry received the imperial crown from the hands of Celestine III., and, in spite of the protestations of the Pope, advanced to invade the dominions of the King of Sicily ^b.

Tancred had no sufficient force to oppose to the Emperor in the field. In consequence, towns and fortresses yielded one after the other. The Abbot of Monte Casino, and the Dean Atenuflus, who was more of a soldier than a priest, became partisans of the Emperor. San Germano, Teano, Aversa, Capua and Salerno, opened their gates ^c. The Counts of Molise, Fondi and Caserta, joined the invader. But the bold and faithful Count of

^a Richardi de San Germano Chronicon.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid.

Acerra had thrown himself, with a strong body of men, into Naples, and was resolved to make the most determined resistance^a. The Emperor invested the town, and his allies, the Genoese, blockaded the harbour. But the army could make no impression by land, and all hopes of starving Naples into submission vanished with the dispersion of the Genoese cruisers by the Sicilian fleet. Marshy ground and the heat of summer, bred a pestilence in the besieging army. Discouraged by the great mortality amongst his troops, the Emperor came to the resolution of raising the siege, and, leaving the Empress Constantia in Salerno, and placing garrisons in Capua, and other fortified towns, he returned with the remains of his army to Germany^b.

It was now Acerra's turn to act^c. Emerging from Naples, and collecting what forces he could, in a short time he recovered all that had been lost; but Dean Atenufus, safe in the impregnable fortress of his convent, refused submission, and, excommunicated by the Pope, carried the war into the States of the Church. In the mean time the Salernitans, beholding the altered aspect of affairs, resolved to make their peace with Tancred by putting the German garrison to the sword, and

^a Richardi de San Germano Chronicon.

^b Anon. Cass. Chronicon.

^c Ibid.

delivering Constantia into his hands. Tancred received the Empress with the utmost courtesy, and, in a short time, at the instance of the Pope, sent her back, with presents, and escorted, to Rome ^a.—He judged of his antagonist by himself, and believed that so generous a proceeding would prove more binding than any terms that might have been exacted.

The Abbot and Atenulfus now renewed hostilities in the Abruzzi ^b, and, joined by the German General, Count Berthold, with the forces under his command, laid waste the surrounding provinces. The disaffected Counts of Fondi and Caserta joined their standard. Tancred, finding that his presence was requisite, hastened to Calabria. The two armies met, and remained, for some time, in sight of each other ^c; but Tancred, though his force was now superior, abstained from bringing on an engagement, upon a punctilio urged by his barons, that it was beneath his dignity to give battle when the enemy was not commanded by a

^a Richardi Chronicon.

^b Dictus Adenulphus Casinensis Decanus, factâ compositione cum Diapuldo Roccæ Arcis Castellano, qui se pro Imperatore gerebat, congregato militari et pedestri exercitu, in Campaniam de Casino descendens, vi cepit Castrum S. Petri Monasterii, et bonis propriis spoliavit, &c. Richardi Chronicon.

Anon. Cass. Chron.

^c Ibid.

sovereign. Whatever Tancred might think of this scruple, he wisely contented himself with the voluntary dispersion of his foes ^a. The invaders withdrew; the rebels submitted. Some were punished; more were forgiven. Apulia was tranquillized; and Tancred, relieved from his anxieties, returned to Palermo, with the prospect of peace and repose.

But his happiness was soon destroyed, and for ever, by the unexpected death of the Duke of Apulia, who was all that a father could desire, and who, had he lived, might perhaps have averted the ruin of his country. Tancred never looked up again, and, within the year, followed his son to the grave ^b, leaving his queen, Sibylla, regent of the kingdom, as his remaining son and successor, William III., was still a child.

^a Richardi Chron.
Anon. Cass. Chron.

^b Rex, doloris punctus aculeo, brevem post tractum temporis, infirmitate correptus, obiit. Ibid.

CHAPTER IX.

THE moment was now arrived when all the foreboding apprehensions of William II. were about to be realized, and Sicily was to become the scene of a tragedy almost unparalleled in the annals of history.

The Emperor, Henry VI., apprised of the deaths of Tancred and his eldest son, thought it a convenient opportunity to renew the attack, when only a woman and a child remained to defend the kingdom. Collecting, therefore, an overwhelming force ^a, he traversed Italy ^b, and, on his way through Apulia, rewarding the ferocious Atenufus with a rich abbey at Venosa ^c, entered Calabria without opposition. Disaffection and despondency equally smoothed his path. All the towns opened their gates, and all the barons went over to his side. The Salernitans alone, aware that the surrender of the Empress would not be forgiven, attempted resistance.

^a Richardi Chronicon.

^b Ibid.

^c Tunc dictus Adenulphus Casinensis Decanus, procurationem Abbatiae Venusii ab Imperatore recepit. Ibid.

Leaving Salerno to be taken and punished by the Marquis of Montferrat, the Emperor crossed the straits, was received by the Messinese, acknowledged by Catania, and became master of Syracuse.

In the mean time the unfortunate Sybilla, beholding the universal defection, left Palermo, and retreated with her son, and her three daughters, to the strong castle of Caltabellota ^a.

Unopposed, the Emperor made his triumphal entry into Palermo, was acknowledged King of Sicily, and crowned in the cathedral. He was now in his thirtieth year. His noble presence extorted admiration, and he endeavoured to recommend himself to his new subjects by the affability of his manners; but there was something both in the manner and the looks that had an air of constraint.

His object now was to get the son of Tancred into his power, and, with this view, he offered Sybilla the County of Lecce, and the Principality of Tarento for her son, on his formal resignation of all further pretensions to the crown ^b. The helpless widow, having no alternative, accepted these conditions. But no sooner had she returned

^a Recipit se in Castrum munitum, quod dicitur Calatibellotta. Anon. Cass.

^b Cum multis fallaciis, deceptionibus, et sacramentis, abstraxit Regem de Calatabellota. Chronicon. de Fossâ Novâ.

to Palermo than the Emperor, regardless of his oath and his agreements^a, threw the family of Tancred into prison, declaring that, as the Empress Constantia's right commenced with the death of William II., all those, who had acknowledged Tancred, were rebels and traitors; but that he should content himself with the imprisonment of Sybilla and her children, of the Archbishop of Salerno, the Bishop of Trani, and one or two more of Tancred's most devoted adherents^b.

Soon after this, leaving the Bishop of Hildesheim as the Viceroy of Sicily, the Emperor returned to Germany, taking with him his unfortunate captives, and 150 mule loads of gold and silver vessels, precious stones, and treasure, found in the palace of Palermo^c.

The exorbitant exactions of the Bishop of Hildesheim soon acquainted the Sicilians with the bitterness of foreign dominion^d; and, in a few months, intelligence arrived that the merciless Emperor had deprived the son of Tancred of his

^a Sigonius.

^b *Ibid.*

^c Tancredi defuncti Regis aulam ingressus Henricus Imperator lectos, et sedilia, mensas ex argento, vasa ex auro invenit purissimo; reperit etiam thesauros absconditos, et omnem lapidum pretiosorum et gemmarum gloriam, ita ut oneratis 150, sommariis auro et argento, lapidibus pretiosis, et vestibus sericis, gloriose ad terram suam redierit. Arnaldus apud Inveges, vol. III. p. 489.

^d Caruso.

eyes, and caused him to be mutilated in the most barbarous manner^a. This was too much to be patiently endured. The Sicilian Barons were loud in their expressions of indignation, and took council together how to relieve their country from the German yoke. The tyrant, receiving intelligence of these proceedings, breathed nothing but revenge, and, returning to Sicily, gave loose to the true ferocity of his nature. Neither rank nor age was spared, and the most illustrious Barons of Sicily perished in the midst of all the tortures that steel and flame could inflict^b.

But Henry had no long enjoyment of his sanguinary triumph. Unappalled or desperate, the inhabitants of Castro Giovanni^c, encouraged by William, the Monk, remained in open revolt. The Emperor went in person to reduce them to obedience; but, assisted by the natural strength of their position, they made so gallant a resistance, that he was compelled to raise the siege. Henry's blood was so heated by his wrath, and his exertions under a burning sun, that he was seized with a violent fever, which terminated his existence at Messina, on the 28th of September 1197^d.

^a Maurolycus.

^b Inveges, vol. iii. p. 499.

^c Richardi de S. Germano Chronicon.

^d Fazellus.

Inveges.

The Empress Constantia, who, during the minority of her son Frederick was left Regent of the kingdom, gave an immediate proof of the pain which her husband's barbarous treatment of her relations and countrymen must have occasioned her, by ordering all the Germans to leave the island^a; and, repairing with her son, Frederick, then only two years old, to Palermo, by her presence and her kindness, consoled and soothed the feelings of the Sicilians^b. She died the following year^c, but Frederick was brought up at Palermo, and acquired an attachment for Sicily which he ever retained.

It does not come within the limits of this work to attempt the history of the Emperor Frederick II.,—the most remarkable man of the age in which he lived; the warrior, the troubadour, the philosopher; who, inferior to none of his predecessors in the field, took advantage of every interval of repose to improve the laws and institutions of his kingdom, and to soften the nature, and refine the manners, of his vassals by the cultivation of letters and the encouragement of the arts.

^a Marcualdum Senescalcum cum Theutonicis omnibus regno exclusit. Richardi de San Germano Chronicon.

^b Inveges, vol. III. p. 507.

^c Certissimum est Imperatricem decessisse ex hac vitâ 27 Novembris, 1198. Baronius.

Both in his external appearance, and in the character of his mind, he united cheerfulness with greatness. There was a radiance in his eye that inspired affection, and a majesty in the expression of his countenance that commanded respect.

Fulfilling all the duties of his station, he was glad, when he could, to forget the burthens of empire; to enjoy as well as to reign. He was keenly alive to the charms of beauty; he delighted in the sports of the field; but literary pursuits were his chief relaxation.

He spoke six languages with fluency^a; the Norman, the German, the Saracenic, the Greek, the Latin, and the Italian.

His happiest hours were passed in the palace of Palermo, to adorn which he ransacked the East and the West^b. In its gardens were seen the plants, birds, and beasts of every clime; and in its neighbourhood he pursued his favourite amusement of hawking without restraint. It was in that palace that he collected around him a society of poets and men of letters—superintended the

^a *Sepe la lingua Latina, volgare, Tedesca, Francese, Greca, Saracinesca.* Villani, lib. vi. c. 1.

^b *Sopra modo si diletto di Falconi, è fu curioso d'avere, tutte le specie degli animali e uccelli—e nel suo Palazzo di Palermo, si miravan tutte le delizie dell' Asia e'l tesoro del Oriente. Fece tradurre l'opre d' Aristotele da Greco, e l'Almogesto di Tolomeo da Saraceno in Latino.* Inveges, lib. iii. p. 633.

translation of learned works, and, by his own example, encouraged the bards of romance. It was in this academy, and under Frederick's fostering care, that the Sicilian language was reduced into form, and articulated the first accents of the Italian muse^a.

To Frederick, Sicily owed an amended code^b, the germ of municipal bodies^c, and the more popular branch (il braccio Demaniale) of its national council^d.

^a Il volgare Siciliano abbia assunto in fama sopra gli altri conciosia che tutti i poemi che fanno gl' Italiani, si chiamino in Siciliano—so says Dante. Petrarch, Boccacio, Bembo, equally bear witness that Italian verse was first attempted in Sicily.

^b Constitutiones novæ, quæ Augustales dicuntur, apud Melfiam, Augusto mandante, conduntur. Constitutiones Imperiales, publicantur, anno 1231. Richardus de San Germano.

^c Gregorio considerazioni sopra la Storia di Sicilia, lib. III. c. 5.

^d Till the time of the Emperor Frederick II., the Sicilian Parliament only consisted of two estates—the Nobles, or the Braccio Militare; and the Clergy, or the Braccio Ecclesiastico.—But, in 1240, says Gregorio, dee stabilirsi l'epoca in cui fu la prima volta accordato ai Comuni Demaniali in Sicilia, l'intervento legale nei Parlamenti. Frederick only summoned Representatives from the Cities and Burghs *dal Demanio*, or those which belonged to the Crown. Hence the third estate was called il Braccio Demaniale. They were summoned to assist the Crown against the overweening power of the Barons. Further privileges were conceded to the Commons by Frederick of Arragon (1330), in whose time

In Italy he instituted the public schools of Naples and Padua; built several towns and castles, and more than one mansion for the Teutonic knights. In Calabria, he built the town of San Stefano, and Aquila, in the Abruzzi. For his own occasional residence, principally with a view to the chase, he built the castle of Apricena on the heights of Monte Gargano in Apulia, and the Castel del Monte, on the lower range of the hills near Barletta. But his most singular foundation was at Nocera in Apulia^a. Having witnessed the courage and experienced the fidelity of the Saracens of Sicily, in his various wars, he removed 20,000 of those Mahomedans to Nocera, to be a check upon his enemies, and there established a colony which was seen by the Popes with the greatest aversion.

The latter part of his life was harassed by his long struggle with Gregory IX., and Innocent IV., who, jealous of his great power, opposed it with the spiritual thunders of Rome and the secular arms of the Guelfs. Over the latter Frederick would have triumphed, but the former were, at that period, stronger than even imperial power wielded by consummate abilities. The ban alienated public opinion from the hero and the sage. Fre-

the Parliament of Sicily became an independent national council.

^a Fazellus.

derick beheld empire departing from him, heard himself denounced as an infidel, and saw himself abhorred as a pestilence. His proud spirit, irritated and chagrined, preyed upon his health. But he did not relax his exertions, and he had just collected a fresh army, chiefly composed of Saracens, and was on the point of returning to the charge, when he was seized with an illness at the castle of Firenzuola in Apulia, which, falling upon a constitution already enfeebled, soon carried him off. Frederick died in 1243, leaving behind him a reputation for energy, magnanimity, and wisdom, which the calumnies and accusations of ecclesiastics have attempted in vain to obscure.

After the death of Frederick, the Norman line was continued by his natural son, Manfred, Prince of Tarento, who, in consequence of the early death of all the legitimate sons of Frederick, and the infancy of his grandson, Conrad, having first been Regent, was eventually crowned King of Sicily and Calabria in 1258. Manfred was a favourite with Frederick, and had been brought up under his eye. He inherited the splendid qualities of his father, and his fondness for literature and the arts. It was at Manfred's command that Bartolomeo di Messina translated the Ethics of Aristotle, and a work of Eracleus on the treatment of horses^a; and Manfred was so much of a trouba-

^a Discorsi di Gregorio, vol. i. p. 318.

dour, that he often went about the streets at night, accompanied by two Sicilian minstrels, singing romances^a. He kept a gay and brilliant court, and his hunting parties, in the sylvan regions of Apulia, were celebrated for their scale and magnificence^b. In 1259, when he was living at Barletta to superintend the construction of his new town of Manfredonia, on the occasion of the visit of Baldwin II., the last of the Latin Emperors of Constantinople, Manfred held the first tournament which had been seen in that part of the world^c. It excited so much admiration that annual tournaments were, afterwards, instituted at Palermo.

There was another infection which Manfred caught from the times in which he lived. He firmly believed in astrology, and when he undertook the construction of Manfredonia, he sent for astrologers from Lombardy and Sicily to determine the fortunate hour for laying the first stone^d.

^a Discorsi di Gregorio, vol. i. p. 319.

^b P256. Nel Gennaio passò Manfredi in Puglia ovè, con più di 1400 persone fece la Caccia dell' Incoronata—il luogo della quale era alle radici del Monte S. Angelo, ove l'Imperatore suo Padre haveva fabbricato un bel Castello e detto lo Apricena. Inveges, vol. iii. p. 665. La Caccia dell' Incoronata derived its name from the Church of La Madonna. Incononata, which is in that neighbourhood.

^c Gregorio, Discorsi, vol. i. p. 318.

^d Fece venire de Sicilia e Lombardia astrologi, per poner, sotto felici auspicii, la prima pietra. Inveges, vol. iii. p. 665.

By the vigour and firmness of his government, Manfred kept Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily in complete subordination, but, imitating the example of his father, and forgetting that he by no means possessed his father's power, and equally forgetful of the wise maxims and conduct of the Normans in earlier times, he set the Pope at defiance, and became the victim of his imprudence.

The opposition of Frederick II., and the establishment of the Saracens at Nocera, had alienated the successors of St. Peter from the dynasty of the Normans, and when Manfred was seen to inherit the sentiments, and follow the example of his father, he was doomed to destruction. The Pope, who assumed the right of disposing of all the crowns upon earth, offered the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily to the King of England^a, but, not deriving the assistance he expected from that quarter, he made the same proposal (1264) to Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis^b. Declined at first, the offer was finally accepted. To advance the project, Urban IV. invited the Crusaders, who had just accomplished their sanguinary mission against the Albigenses of Provence, again to be the instruments of divine vengeance by directing their arms against Manfred. His call was obeyed. The Crusaders, with the

^a Mathæi Paris Historia.

^b Ibid.

most perfect unconcern, transferred themselves from France to Italy, and the Guelfs offered their assistance to the champion of the church*.

A more illegitimate combination, or one more characteristic of the times, can scarcely be conceived; a Priest giving away the crown of an independent monarch; a Sovereign hunted down as a public enemy, who, by the order and flourishing condition into which he had brought his dominions, had shewn himself deserving of the station which he filled; a people, transferred, like so many sheep, to the stranger; and the head of the Christian church, regardless of the wrongs, and the bloodshed, and the agonies, which he was about to cause.

The result of the enterprise was still considered uncertain. Manfred had a powerful army, and enjoyed so high a reputation as a commander, that many inclined to the opinion that he would be able to make a successful resistance. But fortune had gone over to his enemies. Charles of Anjou, though intercepted by Manfred's fleet, effected his passage in safety from Marseilles to Ostia, (1265,) and the bulk of his army, which came through Piémont, eluded the Ghibellines by a cir-

* *Multitudo Gallicorum cruce signata, contra Manfredum, habens capitaneos Guidonem Altisiodorensem Episcopum, Robertum, filium Comitis Flandriæ, &c., in subsidium Caroli, Romam venit. Mathæus Paris.*

cautious march, and joined him with undiminished numbers at Rome. The ceremonies of the Church were now employed to consecrate the act of aggression, and Charles, without the shadow of a right, was anointed King of Sicily by the Holy Father ^a.

1266. Perceiving that the enemy was about to approach, Manfred dispatched his advanced guard to defend the passage of the Garigliano. At the same time he sent an embassy to expostulate with Charles and offer propositions of peace. But the only reply which Charles returned to these ambassadors was, "Tell the Sultan of Nocera ^b, that either he shall send me to Paradise or I will send him to Hell," and he immediately began his march ^c.

The strength of the position at the passage of the Garigliano was rendered of no avail by the treachery of the Count of Caserta.—The invading army was permitted to cross without opposition, and arriving at St. Germano before they were expected, possessed themselves of that important fortress ^d.

On receiving intelligence of these disastrous

^a Baronius, vol. XII. anno 1195.

^b In allusion to the Saracens of Nocera, whom Manfred protected

^c Collenuccio.

Giov. Villani.

^d Inveges, lib. III. p. 700.

events, Manfred, with the remainder of his troops, fell back on Benevento, and had scarcely arrived there when Charles appeared under its walls.

Even then, had Manfred, entrenched within the ramparts, awaited his Ghibelline allies, who were advancing through the Abruzzi, and drawn reinforcements from Calabria and Sicily, he might perhaps have averted his ruin; but, thinking that the invaders must be exhausted by the length and the rapidity of their march, he made the unfortunate election of giving battle at once, and, being told by his astrologers that the hour was propitious, he crossed the river Calore, upon the other side of which Charles was posted ^a.

In the onset Manfred's German stipendiaries had the advantage, who repulsed the attack of the impetuous French, and charged them, in return, with irresistible force ^b. The van of the invader was thrown into confusion. Charles advanced, with his second division, to their assistance; Manfred supported his Germans. A general engagement ensued. The Saracens of Nocera, who formed Manfred's corps de reserve, were now brought up, and fought with so much valour that the issue of the struggle long appeared to be doubtful ^c. At this critical moment, the Counts of

^a Inveges, vol. III. p. 600.

^b Fazellus.

Giannone.

^c Collenuccio.

Cerra and Rovetta, with other Barons of Apulia, drew off their forces, and hastened away from the field^a.

When Manfred beheld this cruel desertion he felt that it was conclusive.—His numbers were now greatly inferior, and despondency would paralyze the exertions of those who remained his friends. As he was gazing upon the treacherous fugitives, the silver eagle, which crested his helmet, suddenly detached itself and fell on the ground^b. “This is no accident,” he exclaimed, “for I fastened it on this morning with my own hands.” And now, bereft of hope, but with a courage as determined as in those brighter days when victory beckoned him on, he set spurs to his horse, and rushing into the thickest of the combat, after having stretched enemy after enemy upon the plain, died as became the last of the Normans.

Here properly ends the Norman line. Sicily relieved itself from the short domination of the French by the well-known Sicilian Vespers, in 1282; and then called in Peter of Arragon, who had married Constantia, the daughter of Manfred. This began the Arragonese dynasty—and Sicily has, ever since, been governed either by Kings, or Viceroy, of Spanish origin.

^a Collenuccio.
Villani.
Fazellus.

^b Collenuccio.
Giov. Villani.

ARCHITECTURAL TOUR.

CHAPTER I.

On the 23d of August, 1836, we left Naples for Messina, on board the *Nettuno*, a remarkably fine steamer, of 120 horse power. Passing between the grand cliffs of Capri, and the promontory of Campanella^a, we stood across the gulph of Salerno, but at too great a distance from the coast to discern the temples of Pæstum.

The day closed with a magnificent sunset; a globe of fire sunk into the sea, and all was night; then came the nearly full moon lighting up the quiet ocean with her silver beams. We bent over the side of the vessel to watch the phosphoric gleams on the waves, wherever the waters

^a Once ennobled by the celebrated temple of Minerva.

were disturbed. Every ripple was edged with gold, and circles of fire glided away from beneath the steamer's paddles, and were seen floating at a considerable distance.

On going on deck the next morning, we found ourselves approaching Tropæa, a small town on the Calabrese coast, where we were to land some of the passengers, and to take in others. Tropæa stands on a precipitous cliff, immediately over the sea. Its tall white houses are carried up flush with the rocks. A recess in these rocks forms the little bay which affords protection to small vessels. Behind the town are lofty hills, on the ragged side of which you trace the zig-zag road which leads up into the country, and goes to Mileto, celebrated in Norman history as the residence and burial place of the Norman Count.

The gabble and the noise, whilst the operation of discharging the passengers, and their luggage, went on, was excessive. This accomplished, we stood on our way. Stromboli was smoking on our right; on our left rose the bold and lofty

coast of Calabria, and the object of our expedition, Sicily, soon appeared in sight before us.

Shortly afterwards we passed the Pharos, and entered the straits, which are only inferior in beauty to the Bosphorus. The coast of Calabria is here a bold chain of mountains, to which a less lofty, but infinitely varied range, corresponds on the Sicilian side. At the base of the latter is situated the glittering town of Messina, with its natural harbour, formed by a broad sand bank, in the shape of a sickle, stretching out from the land.

Two or three forts on different eminences, at the back of the town, an old lofty, octagonal tower, numerous churches, the new buildings on the quay, and the fortress of San Salvador, guarding the entrance of the harbour, are the features which first catch the eye as you approach Messina—together with the cupola and portico of a church which stands on the shore, about a mile and a half out of the town, and,

without having any great architectural merit, is a picturesque object.

As you draw nearer, you perceive with regret, the still remaining traces of the last great earthquake, in the forlorn and singular condition of the once splendid line of palaces along the quay.—Ruined in different degrees, few of them have been completely restored, and the remainder, roofed in at different stages, exhibit the fragments of a colonnade, which now looks as unhappy as it must have formerly been magnificent.

With the views which induced me to visit Sicily, I was glad to approach it on the side on which it was first approached by the Normans. Messina was the first place which Count Roger attacked; the first city of which he obtained possession. At that time there was no bulwark on the bank; on that spot was it that Roger vowed, if he succeeded in his enterprise, to build the church which has bequeathed its name to the fortress by which it has been succeeded. At that

extreme end of the harbour, rose the old tower, on which the banner of the cross was planted when the town was taken, and which Roger turned into the belfry of his first cathedral. The town at that time occupied much the same situation which it occupies now, but how different from the Italian appearance of the modern Messina, must have been the frowning character of the Mahomedan city!—girt with walls and towers; displaying many a Mosque and Minaret; and inhabited by a mixed population of Greeks and Saracens. The Count approached it with but an handful of men, but the Norman arm, and the Norman courage, were invincible, and the Christians were delivered from bondage.

CHAPTER II.

IN Messina there are but few traces of Norman times. No vestiges remain of either of the two churches built by Count Roger. San Salvador was removed by the Emperor Charles V. to make way for the fortress which commands the entrance of the harbour, and the existing ruins of San Niccolo are only the remains of various reconstructions ^a.

The most ancient architectural work in Messina, is a portion of the present cathedral. This was begun by Count Roger, in the latter years of his life, about 1098 ^b, and finished by the king, his son.

^a L'Arcivescovo Pietro Bellorato ristorò San Niccolò nel 1509. Sampieri, Iconologia

^b Ego Gulielmus, Messanensium et Trainensium tertius Episcopus, Ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ quam gloriosus Comes

As this was the first Norman building which I saw in Sicily, I was naturally induced to compare it in my mind with the cotemporary works of the Normans in France, and found it to be constructed on very different principles, but containing many points of resemblance. It is of considerable size. The plan is the long, or Latin, basilica. It has a large crypt. The arches of all the original work (with the exception of those of the crypt) are varied, with a slight inclination to the horse-shoe in the form of those of the nave. The windows are round-headed, and undivided*. The windows in the apses have on each side, the small, recessed, Norman pillar, and enriched architraves in which the Norman zig-

Rogerus, atque gloriosa domina Adelasia, Comitissa Siciliae et Calabriae, de vilissimo stabulo restauraverunt, terreno servitio liberam facio. 1123. Rocco Pirro.

The cathedral was called the new St. Mary's in 1160, in which year the Stratigo, Andrea, on some public occasion, assembled the people together in that building. Ugone Falcando.

* Vide Plate vii.

zag appears, as well as on the impost. The parapet is supported on Norman brackets. On the other hand, there is none of that grandeur and solidity in this building which I had admired in the early works of the Normans in France. Neither does this church appear ever to have had a central tower. The arches of the nave, instead of resting on massive piers and half columns built in courses, as in Normandy, here rest upon single shafts of granite, taken from earlier buildings; with capitals, however, of the time, to a certain degree attempting to imitate, but still widely departing from, the Roman models. It is, however, manifest that persons, intimately acquainted with the churches of France, must have been concerned in the work. The Norman capitals, the brackets, and above all, the chevron mouldings, must have come direct from Normandy.

In this church, though, internally, there is a transverse aisle between the choir and the nave, there is, externally, no appearance of transepts.

The three apses are enriched with fine Mosaics

which were added in 1322, by Frederick of Aragon, and Archbishop Guidotto di Tabiatis, whose portraits are introduced ^a.

The roof is of wood.—It was burnt in 1254, on the occasion of the funeral of Conrad, the son of the Emperor Frederick II. ^b The catafalco, or funeral trophy, which was placed in the middle of the nave, was so lofty that the lights, on its summit, caught the rafters, and the roof, the catafalco, and the body of the Prince, were all consumed together. The roof was, however, shortly afterwards restored by King Manfred.

The arches of the vault of the crypt are obtusely pointed, and are supported by short columns, with Norman capitals.

The West end is a reconstruction. It is built of alternate courses of white and red marble, and is in that sort of minutely ornamented, pointed style which occurs in the churches of Italy of the 14th century.

^a Rocco Pirro, vol. i. p. 342.

^b Ibid. p. 334.

This church was not originally the cathedral. For some time it remained in the hands of the Greek clergy, whilst the Roman Catholic Bishop, whose flock was less numerous, was obliged to content himself with San Niccolò. But in 1168 the episcopal throne was removed from the temple in the corner to the more splendid edifice of the new St. Mary's; the Greek chapter then retiring, not, as it must be supposed, in the best humour, to the adjacent church of La Catolica.

The second church of Messina, in point of antiquity, is La Nunziatella dei Catalani^a; and this church also exhibits points of resemblance to the French Norman, or Romanesque. The exterior of its apse is decorated with two ranges of round Norman arches, resting on small pillars with foliated capitals. At the west end are three very curious portals. The arch of each door is more than an half circle, and inclines to the horse-shoe form. The outer arch of the

^a Vide Plates VI. and VII.

centre door rests on two small columns recessed in the Norman manner, but diminishing upwards, and having Corinthian capitals. The inner arch rests on two pilasters which, also, have Corinthian capitals. These pilasters are enriched above with a Greek pattern, and below with Arabic characters, inlaid in porphyry. The arch itself is plain, with two sinkings, and a single bed mould, enriched with an acanthus scroll.

The side doors differ from the centre, as their arches rest on decorated impostes, supported by Corinthian pilasters, the abacus of the one being enriched with the egg and tongue pattern, and of the other, with animals representing a boar hunt. In addition to this, each door has an archivolt, or label, supported on brackets; the whole enriched with Greek ornaments.

Within the church, are four pillars, of a single shaft, with corrupt Corinthian capitals. These pillars evidently supported a central dome, but the whole of the upper part, and, indeed, of the

interior of the building, has been repaired and altered in a totally different style.

The church is nearly square, and has but one apse; in these respects, as in the central dome which it once possessed, following the Greek model. Its plan, therefore, and its architecture, exhibit exactly that mixture of style and taste which might be expected from the mixture of the Greek and Norman people.

When, or by whom, the Nunziatella was built is not precisely known. It is always spoken of as a building of great antiquity, and particular sanctity. By some it is called an heathen Temple; by others, a Saracenic Mosque. That it never was either, the preceding description will have made sufficiently clear, but such conjectures indicate a remote origin. It is incidentally mentioned as existing in 1169^a, and

^a Il Conte fece trasportare Oddo in una barca del palazzo alla fortezza del Castello a mare che, per guardia del porto, era fabbricata sotto alla *chiesa antichissima* prima dedicata a

as a building which, at that time, was already ancient*.

This church was originally called *La Annunziata del Castello a mare*—for, though streets now intervene between the *Nunziatella* and the Quay, the gate which led to the shore, and the castle which guarded the harbour, were its neighbours in former times. Under the Arragonese Princes so many of their Spanish vassals settled in Messina that they desired to have a separate church for their own use. They obtained the *Nunziatella*: and, from that time, its designation was altered into that of *La Nunziatella dei Catalani*.

The Arabic inscriptions, on either side of the principal entrance, and which gave this church the reputation of having been a mosque, are nothing but the fragments of some Saracenic building. They are to the honor and glory of

Nettuno, et poi alla Nunciata dei Catalani. Reina. Storia di Sicilia, lib. vi.

* Messina was captured in 1061, any time after which this church may have been built.

Messala, the son of HARRAM, a Saracenic chief, but the sense of the inscription is incomplete, as part of it is wanting*.

Not far from the Nunziatella is La Cattolica, over the portal of which still exists the pompous inscription of "Omnium Ecclesiarum Grecarum mater et caput." The body of this church has been rebuilt of late years, but the west front is old. In it appears a pointed door, over which is an obtusely pointed window, enriched with the chevron, and other Norman mouldings. The only clue to the date of the original part of this building which I have been able to discover is the fact, that in 1168 the Greek clergy withdrew to this church from the present cathedral^b. It may be inferred that the change took place

* Sampieri, Iconologia.

^b Officiava un tempo il Clero Greco nella Chiesa di Santa Maria la nuova, oggi Cattedrale, ma poscia, crescendo in maggiore numero il Clero Latino, si trasporto in essa nel 1168 il Capitolo dei Canonici di San Nicolò, inde si ritirano i Greci nel tempio dirimpetto, e poco distante. Sampieri Iconologia.

soon after the new building was in a state to be occupied.

From La Cattolica, traversing the square at the west end of the cathedral, and ascending into the higher part of Messina, we came to the modern church of a convent of Gregorian Nuns—the interior of which is rich to a fault with Mosaics and a variety of marbles. From the top of the steps, in front of this church, there is a noble view of the city, the harbour, the straits, and the Calabrese coast.

Descending from thence, through streets half composed of Nunneries, we came to the church of San Agostino, the greater part of which has been rebuilt in modern times; but, in the northern flank of this building, may be observed the traces of two more ancient constructions. You perceive the plain, round headed windows, and flat buttresses of an early Norman church, disturbed by subsequent insertions in the pointed style. A pointed door destroys the lower half of the round headed window above it. This church was nearly

rebuilt in the first half of the 14th century, with the proceeds of the rich legacy bequeathed in 1387, to the monks of San Agostino by the Contessa Pasca^a. The portions in the pointed style must be remnants of the work done at that time.

At no great distance from San Agostino is La Madonna della Scala, the lower part of the west front of which is good rustic work, and contains an handsome, late, pointed door. This door has a square lintel which, as well as the jambs, is enriched with foliage and figures, delicately wrought. One of the mouldings consists of the emblematic leaves of the vine. This church was always held in much veneration, and received donations from William the Good, the Empress Constantia, and from Frederick II. of Arragon. The last mentioned Prince (who was crowned in 1296 and died in 1396) entirely rebuilt the church in what was considered a beautiful manner^b. The exist-

^a Sampieri.

^b Federico d'Aragona, Ré di Sicilia, edificò qual tempio con bellissima architettura. Sampieri.

ing building, therefore, belongs to the 14th century, but it in no wise resembles the 14th century buildings of France and England. It has no deep mouldings, and, in all its ornaments and accessories, the Greek touch, and the Greek character, are conspicuous.

At a short distance, beyond La Madonna della Scala is an edifice which *does* reproduce the pointed style of the North, and of which the plain lancets would, if it stood in England, assign to the church of San Francesco the date of the reign of John. But this church was built, at the joint expense of three pious Countesses of Messina, in the latter part of the 13th century. Its foundation stone was blessed at Naples, by Pope Alexander III., in 1254.

The examination of the above-mentioned buildings occupied our morning. In the afternoon we engaged one of those open carriages which always stand ready for hire near the cathedral, and joined the fashionables of Messina in their habitual drive to La Grotta. The drive is carried along the sea

shore, at the foot of the hills which extend nearly to the Pharos. The slope of the hills is clothed with olives, figs and vines, divided by frequent hedges of prickly pear, and aloes. Orchards of orange trees and lemons, gardens, and villas, skirt the road. On the contrary side the eye wanders over the deep blue sea, to the coast of Calabria and its magnificent heights; nor is there ever wanting an evening breeze to bring refreshment on its wings. The Messinese, therefore, are fortunate in their Corso, and it is thronged, every evening, with carriages, riders on ponies and donkeys, and pedestrians of every class. Brown fishermen preparing their nets on the shore, and women, occupied with the graceful distaff at their cottage doors, complete the Southern character of the scene. La Grotta, which is the *but de promenade*, forms part of the peristyle of a circular church, round which the carriages drive, and return the way they came*. Next the sea the

* La Madonna della Grotta was built in 1622 by Emanuel

portico is open, and a circular colonnade hanging over the waves never fails to offer a subject for the pencil.

As we drove back, the same picture was exhibited under a totally different, and still more beautiful, aspect. It was now moonlight. All was distinctly seen, but all was softened, except the fishermen's boats, and the latine sails of larger vessels, which looked dark against the glittering waves. There was music and dancing on the shore, and matrons in black mantillas, reminding us of the Spanish connection.

We alighted at a café on the quay, and, in company with a crowd of loungers, sipped the best ice in the world at twopence a glass.

Philibert, High Admiral, and Viceroy, of Sicily. Sampieri
Iconologia.

CHAPTER III.

AUGUST 25.—Re-embarked on board the steamer at eleven, and glided along at no great distance from the shore. The whole coast is here mountainous. The upper part of the range is rugged, and seamed with torrents, but the lower part is enriched with olives, vines, almond, and mulberry trees. Scattered houses and little towns speckle the shore; hill villages, perched on the most apparently inaccessible spots, enliven the heights; and now the glory of this side of Sicily, *Ætna*, emerging from behind the nearer screen of hills, began to be seen in the distance. As we advanced, the immensity of *Ætna* was gradually disclosed—the immensity rather than the height; for it spreads over such an extent, that its real

altitude is lost in the expanse of its base. It is a country rather than a mountain, rising alone, stretching far and wide, and coming down to the sea; bare and barren above, but green and fertile below, with regions of forest and vineyards; edged, next the sea, with a black and rough trimming of the lava which successive eruptions have sent down. Proceeding on our way, we caught sight of the picturesque town of Aci Reale, situated on elevated ground, and passed by the basaltic rocks which rise out of the sea beneath. Soon afterwards, we turned a projecting point, and broke upon the white town of Catania, seated upon the black beds of lava in which more than one of its predecessors are entombed. Several of the churches of Catania have cupolas, which have always a good effect. The town on the sea-shore, with the fertile region at its back, and its old enemy the mountain rising beyond and above, form a beautiful picture.

At Catania, rather for the advantage of the Sicilian innkeepers, than from any wish of our

own, we were again turned on shore for the night, but were compensated by coming in for one of those nocturnal fêtes which belong to southern climes. At Catania, twice a week, during the summer, la Passagiata takes place on the Quay. Lights are hung up amongst the trees, and various pieces of music are performed by a good orchestra, placed in a stand fronting the walks. About nine o'clock, when the coolness of night is delicious, all the inhabitants, *nobili* and *popolo*, crowd to the scene; and either stroll up and down, or take their seats on chairs, of which there is abundant provision. All the town is amused, and the Passagiata often lasts till midnight. It is only in summer that you become acquainted with the inhabitants of the south.

August 26.—Embarked again, at one, for Syracuse. The coast, here low, offered little to arrest our attention, except the town of Augusta; but there was always *Ætna* in the distance. At the end of little more than four hours, we turned another corner, and entered the harbour of Syra-

cuse. The entrance is narrow, and vessels are obliged to stand in so close to the side on which the town is situated, as to come under the walls of the fortress which arms the point; but, as you advance, you discover a natural harbour in which the navies of Europe might ride. Here we took leave of the *Nettuno*, with a grateful sense of the pleasant manner in which that steamer had so swiftly conveyed us so far. On landing, we were agreeably surprised by finding an excellent inn at a little-frequented spot.

Enough daylight remained to give us time to walk up to the cathedral, which was once a temple of *Minerva* ^a. The building has lost all its beauty in the changes which it has undergone; for, in order to obtain the internal width that was desired, the peristyle has been taken into the church,

^a This is the temple of which Cicero makes mention:—
 “In ea sunt *Ædes sacræ complures, sed duæ, quæ longe cæteris antecellunt; Dianæ, una, et altera, quæ fuit antestius adventum, ornatissima, Minervæ.*” Cicero. vi. in *Verrem*.

by filling up the spaces between the columns, and cutting arches through the wall of the cella. Eleven of the Doric pillars are still visible on one flank of the building, with a portion of the architrave and its triglyphs. The temple was entire till after the Norman conquest. In the year 1100, during the celebration of mass, the stone roof fell in, and miserably destroyed the congregation; but the walls remained standing, and the building was again adapted to the purposes of Christian worship ^a.

From the cathedral we descended to the neighbouring fount of Arethusa, which, whatever it may once have been, is now a mere pool.

^a 1100. In questo anno cadde in Siracusa l'antico tempio di Minerva, consecrato in Cattedrale, al tempo che si celebravano le Messe, salvi il celebrante, et gli assistenti, tutti gli altri sotterrò e uccise. Inveges, vol. III. p. 154.

CHAPTER IV.

AUGUST 27.—No spot which I ever beheld ever illustrated the transitory nature of earthly things more strongly than modern Syracuse. Historians have distinctly described the vast magnitude of the ancient city. Enough vestiges remain to confirm the truth of their statements. The harbour is still in existence, which originally made Syracuse the emporium of the world; but the harbour only contains a few fishing-boats and speronaras, and the Syracuse which now exists is but the wreck and mockery of departed greatness.

You cast your eyes on the rising ground at the upper end of the harbour. Where is Neapolis? Where is Tyche? Where Achradina? There

they assuredly stood; but what is *now* there?—
Absolutely nothing!

On the other side of the bay you distinguish the Doric shafts of the temple of Jupiter Olympicus: the very temple which contained the statue from which Dionysius the elder purloined the mantle of gold. How deep into the past do these remembrancers carry your thoughts!

Modern Syracuse is confined to the small peninsula on which formerly stood that portion of the ancient city which was called Ortygia—as if London were reduced to the Tower and Tower-hill, or Paris to the island in the middle of the Seine. The neck of land which unites the peninsula to the coast divides the larger from the smaller harbour.

Rising with the sun, we got into a boat, and landed on that part of the shore which is nearest to the vestiges of Neapolis. The first thing we came to, in this desolate region, was a single column—itsself recording the whereabouts of wealth and grandeur—a single column of Cipol-

lino marble—the remnant of the once beautiful portico of the Temple of Ceres. From thence we proceeded to the theatre^a, and the amphitheatre, which has recently been cleared out, and then ascended to the vacant site of Neapolis by the very road which, in former times, was incessantly trod by busy thousands, of whom we were only reminded by their tombs, which we saw caverned in the rock on either side.

Returning to the theatre, we observed, in its vicinity, a few productive spots, which are fertilized by the same aqueduct which brought a supply of water to the ancient city. The stream runs on as copiously and eagerly as if it still administered to the wants of a million of human beings.

From hence we repaired to one of the ancient quarries—all so picturesque with their fantastic masses of rock, trailing shrubs, and trees. In

^a This theatre is well represented in Donaldson's supplementary volume to Stewart's Athens.

this quarry is the cavern which goes by the name of the Ear of Dionysius. A winding groove in the roof of the cavern, whether natural or artificial, conveys the sounds which rise from beneath to a particular spot. To that spot my companion suffered himself to be slung up by ropes, and; when there, was able perfectly to distinguish whatever was said by persons at the bottom of the cavern, in the ordinary tone of conversation; but whispers, he deposed, were inaudible.

From thence we took a long stretch through deserted Achradina, once the most populous part of Syracuse, in the whole circumference of which is now scarcely a building to be found, except the Church of St. John ^a, which is built over the entrance of extensive catacombs. Attached to this church is a Capucine convent, and fragments of an old cloister, in the circular style.

^a Richardus. Ep. Syrac. dedicavit Ecclesiam Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, anno 1182. The church has been rebuilt, but the cloister may be a fragment of the buildings erected at that time.

Further on, we came to another Capucine convent, at the back of which is the most picturesque of all the ancient quarries. It is now the garden of the convent, chiefly planted with orange and lemon trees; and the singular forms of its rocks, some hollowed into deep caverns, others left in slender insulated masses, combining with the trees, partially covered with trailing shrubs, and seen against the dark blue of the cloudless sky, furnish a new picture at every step. As you are admiring the beauty of the scene, it is painful to call to mind that these quarries were the prisons in which the Athenian soldiers pined away.

The convent stands on rising ground, and looks down upon what was the Porta Marmorea, or smaller harbour. Our boat had, by this time, come round to meet us, and conveyed us back to the town, across the Porta Marmorea, beneath the pellucid waters of which, near the shore, we saw remnants of ancient structures.

Having breakfasted, and laid by during some of the hottest hours, we made another start; and

this time directing our course right across the larger harbour, rowed up the little river Anapus, in quest of the only spot in Europe where the papyrus grows wild. The Anapus trickles through a plain which, in no way relieved from the waters which issue from various springs, is infected with malaria, and rendered still more unwholesome by the cultivation and preparation of flax. The narrow stream is more like a fen ditch than a river; and, in the rank vegetation which covers its banks, every species of ague and fever may well be generated. Here and there the reeds and wild grasses were exchanged for fields of melons. Having rather pushed than rowed our way for a considerable distance, we at length beheld the papyrus growing on the banks. The papyrus is a gigantic rush, shooting up to the height of a man. It grows in bunches, and each of its naked stems terminates in brown tufts, which are its flowers. The stem supplies the membrane on which the ancients used to write. It is slit into the thinnest possible slices, which are easily glued

together; and, after having remained under any heavy pressure till perfectly dry, are in a fit state for retaining impressions.

By the treachery of our guide, and the idleness of our boatmen, we were defrauded of a sight of the pellucid Fount of Cyene, and the remnants of the Temple of Jupiter, both of which are situated a few furlongs higher up than we were permitted to go. The remnants of the temple, however, are comprised in the two colossal Doric shafts which we had seen from a distance.

Believing that we had visited everything in this direction, we left our boat; and, mounting the mules which had been sent round to meet us, rode across the plain to the rising ground beyond, and onwards, for a couple of hours, till we came to evident traces of ancient walls—large, squared blocks of stone, some in their places, others scattered about. At length we arrived at the ruins of the fortress which is known to have stood at the extreme point of ancient Syracuse, and which fortunately remains to place the real extent of the

city beyond the possibility of a doubt. Of this building there are considerable remains; and in the wall of the city, which comes up to the fortress, you are able to discover the traces of the very gate through which Marcellus entered. This part of Syracuse was on elevated ground, and from hence *Ætna* is again seen in the distance.

From hence we had a long and wearisome ride back to the modern town. We traversed the entire length of what was Syracuse, as it might be setting out from Shoreditch to go by the Strand to Westminster, traversing a space that was once no less crowded with houses and thronged with men. The whole is now a rocky common, only frequented by a few sheep and goats—nothing to remind you of the past, except the grooves here and there worn by the chariot wheels in the rock, indented lines that trace the foundations of houses^a, and the occasional gurgling of water, when you

^a These traces show that the private houses were on the same small scale as those existing at Pompeii.

hit upon the course of the stream which is brought by the aqueduct. Here and there, in the wide extent, are a few patches of cultivation, and one or two modern farms, but nothing ancient; and you puzzle your brains to conceive what can have become of the temples and the palaces, the vast piles of marble and stone, the materials, the very dust, of the London of antiquity.

CHAPTER V.

AUGUST 28.—Having exhausted the classic antiquities, on this day we employed ourselves in researches more immediately connected with the object of our expedition; but first visited the museum, of which the principal ornament is the fine torso (unhappily only the torso) of a Venus, which was found a few years ago in the amphitheatre.

From thence we went to the further extremity of the town, to examine the only very remarkable monument which Syracuse possesses of the middle ages. This is the fortress which occupies the point of the peninsula, and which is always attributed to the Byzantine general, Maniaces, whose name it bears. There can be no doubt that Maniaces, in the course of the short period

during which he retained possession of Syracuse, built a castle on this spot, and it is not improbable that the bulk of the existing building, the very thick walls, and strong round towers, may be part of his work. These portions of the fortress are unmarked by any peculiar architectural features. They might have been built at any time, and are so strongly built that they might endure for any period. This fortress is repeatedly named by the Sicilian historians. It is mentioned as continuing to exist in the 13th and 14th centuries, and, when mentioned, is invariably called the Castle of Maniaces. But the only very marked or interesting part of the fabric is a great hall and portal, which belong to much later times than those of the Byzantine general. The hall is in a ruinous state, having been greatly damaged by the explosion of the barrels of gunpowder, of which, in later years, it was made the receptacle. But some of its round-headed windows remain, and some of the pointed arches

which supported its vaulted roof. This mixture of style would, in England, ascribe this building to the latter years of the reign of Henry II., but the arches rest on pillars with octagonal capitals, which, in the North, were not introduced till a much later period^a. On one side of this hall, are the remains of one of those large stone fire-places, with a projecting top, which are common in the North. The portal is pointed, and exceedingly well finished^b. It is enriched with a few bold mouldings, and a variety of elaborate ornaments, not in the style of the North, but with that infusion of the Greek character which prevails in the pointed architecture of Sicily.

No record is come down to our times to tell us by whom, or when, these costly alterations were made. The castle was the habitual residence of

^a These capitals assimilate more directly with the style of enrichment used in England, than even with the works of a similar date in France.

^b Vide Plate 28.

the kings of Sicily, whenever they visited Syracuse, and several of their public acts are dated from thence*. But no mention is made of their having touched the building, nor is there any account of its having at any time suffered any material injury. We are left, therefore, wholly to conjecture; and, where there exists so singular a mixture of style, it is the more difficult to form, and the more hazardous to risk, an opinion. But the latest feature, if apparently cotemporary with the remainder of a building, must always be received as an indication of the date. Ancient forms are often reproduced, but later fashions are seldom anticipated. In this point of view, the foliated octagonal capitals are the most to be regarded, and forbid the supposition that this hall was erected previous to the fourteenth century.

After having carefully examined this curious edifice, we made a general reconnoissance of the

* Indè Fredericus III. contulit se Syracusis in arcem Maniaci 1301. Maurolycus de rebus Siculis.

town, and discovered, in the course of our walk, several pointed portals, plain, with one sinking; and several ancient windows, divided by slender pillars. We also observed two or three pointed portals of churches, with a number of deep mouldings, in character resembling the style which is usual in the North, but rare in Sicily. Unfortunately the ecclesiastical annals of Syracuse are so meagre as to leave us entirely in the dark as to the date of the buildings to which these portals belong.

August 29th.—This day was entirely occupied in returning by land to Catania, a distance of about forty miles. We performed the journey in a lettiga, a kind of vehicle which only exists in Sicily, because no other civilized country is without carriage roads. The lettiga is a small vis-à-vis, carried on long poles, by two mules; exactly in the manner in which a sedan chair is carried by men. Two guides accompany each lettiga. They take it in turns to encourage the mules. The one who is not on duty, rests himself on the

back of the foremost beast. The mules are so sure-footed, that the lettiga is transported along the roughest paths, up and down the steepest hills, through the dry beds of wintry torrents, in perfect safety, to the equal astonishment and satisfaction of its inmates. The lettiga is by no means an uncomfortable conveyance, especially in summer, when it affords protection from the scorching rays of the sun.

The country we traversed was wild and uncultivated, and so generally infected with malaria, that our guides earnestly recommended us not to allow ourselves to drop asleep for a moment. If you keep awake, the malaria seldom lays hold of you; but if you sleep, for ever so short a time, you seldom escape. With such a penalty before our eyes, we did our best to keep them open, but it was by no means an easy task, as we had risen at four in the morning, and as the motion of the lettiga is of the most drowsy kind. The cries of the guide on foot, who never for an instant ceases to appeal to the mules with all manner of

sharp and discordant sounds, helped us to obey his injunctions.

The desolate region through which we passed is varied, and often intersected by ravines and brooks, in the beds of which the oleander grows wild. The common brushwood by the way side, consisted of myrtle and alaternus. Bulbs of different kinds abound, and, when we afterwards drew nearer the coast, we observed numerous specimens of a beautiful white amaryllis in flower, which the Sicilians call Giglio di Mare, because it inhabits the sandy places near the shore. Sicily is famous for the abundance of its flowers, which, in spring, enamel the land.

As we advanced, our guides directed our attention to the distant town of Augusta, situated on the coast. It is a fortified town, and has a good port, but has lost its trade, and is now a melancholy place. In its neighbourhood there is still a plantation of sugar-canes.

About noon we descended a long steep hill, by an execrable rocky path, and coming down

upon the plain, halted at a lone house of call, to bait the mules. A more wretched and ill-provided hut can scarcely be conceived, and the squalid looks of its unfortunate inhabitants too plainly announced how tainted was the ambient air. Bread and eggs were all there was to be had.

Resuming our journey, we were cheered by magnificent views of *Ætna* and Catania, at its foot, distinctly seen on the further side of the bay, along the margin of which we were now advancing. Further on we struck inland. It was nearly a level plain from hence to Catania. This district is of a totally different nature from the one we had traversed in the morning, celebrated for the fertility of its soil, and its magnificent crops of corn.

CHAPTER VI.

AUGUST 30.—Catania is modern throughout, having been more than once buried under the lavas of *Ætna*. The last destruction was so complete as to afford the opportunity of reconstructing the whole town on a regular plan. In consequence, the streets are all at right angles; the public buildings, the convents and squares, disposed with reference to general effect; and, as a decorative style of architecture prevails throughout, there is much to admire in the general aspect of the town. But the plan was formed on too ambitious a scale, and, in consequence, much is incomplete. Many of the less important streets exhibit unseemly gaps, and unfinished buildings occur in the best quarters.

If, however, Catania has suffered so often and so extensively, several fragments belonging to dif-

ferent periods, nevertheless survive. A Greek theatre is still in existence; as also a circular building, which is now a church, and appears to have been a Roman bath. Nor is Catania without some vestiges of the Normans. The east end and transepts of the cathedral, if not as ancient as they are deemed by some, belong to Norman times. The east end consists of three apses, which, as well as the transepts, are constructed with large blocks of stone. In the interior of this part of the fabric there is nothing remarkable; but, externally, the upper part both of the transepts and apses, is ornamented with a series of pointed arches, slightly sunk in the walls. This portion of the cathedral is ascribed by some to Count Roger, and it is certain that Count Roger did build the first cathedral, and on this identical spot, in 1092. But, in the year 1169, the cathedral was nearly destroyed by an earthquake, on which occasion the Bishop, and several priests, as well as a great number of persons who had

flocked to the church, were buried under the ruins*. The probability is, that the ancient part which exists is a part of the reconstruction after the earthquake. At Catania, the transepts, though short, are manifest and pronounced, which, externally at least, is not the case in the cathedral of Messina. There is also a difference of construction in the upper and lower parts of the apse, a difference in the courses and size of the stones, as if the whole of the wall had not been carried up at one and the same time. Another argument in favour of the supposition that the original east end was destroyed by the earthquake, is to be found in the circumstance that the bishop and the priests were involved in the same calamity with the rest of the congregation,

* 1169.—*Ita terribilis facta terræ concussio ut populi multitudine quæ ad solemnitatem D. Agathæ venerat, adhuc in æde ipsius Agathæ existente, tectum corruisse fertur, et maxima pars illius populi et Abbas cum 14 Monachis, diem clausit extremum.* Ancient Chronicle cited in Amicus, *Catania Illustrata*.

because in those days, the eastern apse was their allotted post, and exactly within that part of the building must they have been stationed at the time of the catastrophe. Upon the whole, therefore, the probability is, that the existing east end of the cathedral of Catania was built after the earthquake in 1169.

From the cathedral we went to Santo Carcere, a church in a remote part of Catania, which derives its name from having been built over the dungeon in which St. Agatha, the patron saint of the city, was confined. In the church itself there is nothing remarkable, as the whole of it is a modern reconstruction, but the entrance door is ancient, and exceedingly curious.

This portal is entirely constructed of white marble. Its arch is circular, and consists of a series of enriched mouldings, supported on recessed columns and a pilaster. The enrichments on the mouldings are the Norman chevron and chequer, and, on the inner face, a number of Roman pateræ. All these mouldings rest on animals

and small figures, seated on the impost. The columns are also enriched with the cheveron and chequer, from the top to the bottom; their capitals are an imitation of the Corinthian. The pilasters are ornamented with a very rich scroll of foliage, terminating in animals. It is evident that, in the execution of these ornaments, the *drill* has been very much employed, which affords reason for believing them to have been the work of Greek artists. Immediately above the arch, on either side, are three sunk panels, round and square, enriched with stars, dragons, and other devices, in bas-relief.

The history of this portal is singular^a. It originally belonged to the cathedral. From thence it was removed, when the west front was modernized, in 1734, to the Palazzo Publico, and from the Palazzo Publico, when that building was altered in 1750, it was again removed to Santo Carcere^b. This portal is another striking example of

^a Vide Plate 8.

^b Il Vescovo Galletti non volle piu l'antica porta e ve ne pose una nuova, facendo il prospetto nel 1734 e fu essa

the mixture of the Greek and Norman styles. Whether it was constructed in the time of Count Roger is uncertain, but the circular arch affords reason for believing that it existed prior to the earthquake in 1169^a.

From the Santo Carcere we proceeded to another extremity of Catania, where the Castel d'Ursino, which was formerly surrounded by the sea, is now united to the shore. This fortress was built by the Emperor Frederick II., to overawe Catania, after a revolt, and was placed on an insulated rock; but the lava, which flowed down from *Ætna* in 1699, filled up the space between the rock and the coast, and deprived the castle of its natural moat. The castle possesses no architectural features, to throw light upon the style of the age in which it was erected.

Adjoining to the castle is a quarry, from whence

porta nella entrata della Loggia (Palazzo Pubblico) ma anchi ne venna tolta allorchè si migliorò quell' edificio nel 1750, e fu data alla Chiesa del Santo Carcere. Ferrara. Storia di Catania, p. 526.

the lava, hardened by time, is habitually taken for building purposes. The bed is eighteen feet thick.

After having perambulated the town, I went to the public library, and met with every attention from those entrusted with its care; but the custom, which prevails in Italy and Sicily, of shutting up churches and libraries at noon, is no slight inconvenience to the traveller.

As so many hours of daylight remained, we resolved to proceed on our journey. Our present object was to return to Messina by the circuitous route of Aderno, Bronte, and Randazzo. A new carriage road which, forking at Aderno, connects Palermo both with Messina and Catania, enabled us to perform this part of our excursion on wheels.

Soon after leaving Catania we began to ascend, and ascended for several miles; the tediousness of which operation was relieved by the constant presence of *Ætna*, which, revealed in all its majestic beauty, rose on our right. Half-way up the

mountain's side we discerned the two dark knobs which are called *Monti Rossi*, and from which, and not from the crater, descended the lava which overwhelmed Catania the last time. At the summit of the mountain, a remaining patch of snow bore witness to its height, and increased its effect.

Near the termination of the ascent, we beheld on our left the feudal towers of *Motta*, in a very commanding position.

Having reached the summit, we descended for a time, and, passing over beds of lava which were sufficiently pulverized to nourish the prickly pear, soon arrived at the small town of *Paternò*, where we were to pass the night.

The town of *Paternò* grew round an eminence, on which Count Roger built a fortress during the time that he was directing his arms against the Saracens of Catania *. A keep of considerable size still crowns the height. We scaled the steep

* In edito Colle Paternionis arce constructâ, copias in Catanam Comes reduxit. 1073. *Amicus, Catania Illustrata.*

which offers so admirable a situation for a castle, and commands a noble view of the mountain on one side, and, on the other, of a valley deep below, through which the Sinapus winds its way to the plain and the ocean beyond. On the top of the eminence is a considerable space of level ground, now partly occupied by churches and convents. The keep is the only part of the castle which remains, and stands on the brink of the precipice. It is a huge oblong pile, very lofty, and perfect to the top. The walls are extremely thick, built of rubble with ashler coignes. The door, which seems to have been the original entrance, is small, on the second story, and was probably approached by a moveable staircase. In the next story is a row of small, double, round-headed windows, divided by a single pillar. In the fourth story, at a very considerable height from the ground, is a large four-centred arch, containing within it two pointed arches divided by a column. The same arrangement of windows occurs on the opposite side of the building.

Having entered the keep by a modern door, we climbed up a narrow staircase, and found that the lower row of small windows lighted a long hall, with a stone pointed vault, without groinings. There are stone benches along the walls, small recesses between the windows, and, at the upper end, a large projecting fire-place. In the stone floor is an aperture, through which prisoners were probably let down into the dungeons below. In this story are other vaulted rooms, one of which has some appearance of having been used as a chapel.

Ascending to the fourth story, we found a larger and loftier vaulted hall, running transversely through the building, from side to side, and lighted at each end by the windows contained in the pointed arches. Out of this hall open several small vaulted rooms, annexed to one of which is an oratory. All the doorways of these rooms are pointed. Ascending again, we went out upon the roof, which is flat and has a parapet, affording a space where the female inmates of the castle

might enjoy the refreshment of the evening breeze.

This keep, in its external shape and internal distribution, resembles the keeps of the North. It cannot have been a part of the original fortress, which appears to have been hastily built for the reception of troops; but must have been subsequently constructed for the habitation of the feudal lord. The count himself appears to have occasionally resided at Paternò, after the completion of the conquest, as his countess, Adelasia, founded convents both at Paternò and Aderno. At any rate, there is reason to believe that the more ancient parts of the keep were in existence before 1145, at which time the castle was in the possession of William, afterwards King of Sicily, to whom Paternò was granted, with other fiefs, in the lifetime of his father^a. When William suc-

^a Nos Gulielmus, Ducis Rogerii filius, Dominus Castellì Gisualdi, Castellì Paterni, aliorumque castrorum et civitatum, clarè facimus quoniam in curiâ nostrâ Paterni coram Epis-

ceded to the throne, the castle and town of Paternò again became a part of the royal domains, and continued in the hands of the crown till 1457, when both were sold by King Alfonso to William Moncada, Count of Aderno, whose son is recorded to have died at Paternò in 1522*. The keep, therefore, was occupied by persons of the

copo Johanne Freguentino, et Heliâ, nostro filio, et Salomone, nostro Stratigoto, et Hervero Agullone, et Marcualdo, nostro milite, et Johanne Burello, Judice, et Presbytero Gratiano, nostro Capellano, et Gulielmo Capuano, Vicecomite Paterni, &c., &c., anno 1145. Diploma, apud Ughellium, vol. viii. p. 290.

* The illustrious family of Moncada was of Spanish origin, and had large possessions in Arragon and Catalonia. The first of the family who figures in Sicilian annals, was William Raymond, who came to Sicily in 1313, and who, for his great services, was made Count of Malta and Gozo. His son was made Count of Augusta; his grandson, Count of Aderno. One of their descendants, Don Antonio de Moncada, who died in 1413, was the very mirror of chivalry, and successfully defended Queen Blanche against the rebellious courtship of her audacious suitor, Cabrera, Count of Modica. Finally, Don Francisco de Moncada, who died in 1566, was raised to the dignity of Prince of Paternò by Philip II. of Spain.

first consequence down to the sixteenth century, and was, doubtless, remodelled by its noble proprietors at different periods, which would sufficiently account for the varieties of its style. In so complete a state of preservation, it possesses great interest, as affording a specimen of the sort of habitation in which the grandees of the middle ages were wont to reside.

August 31.—Started at five, rejoicing to depart from the detestable lodging, in which we had fared like Polonius—"We ate not, but were eaten."

Arriving at Aderno, we beheld another lofty keep, though, at that place, there is no advantage of rising ground. This keep is square, and built of rubble, like the one at Paternò. All its original windows and doors, all of which are now walled up, are round-headed. The interior is a mere shell. The different stories appear to have been divided by wooden floors, but the roof was a vault of stone. Here, also, are projecting fireplaces. Out of the great hall, in the second story, opens a small chapel, in the pointed style;

the arch, however, of its little apse, is circular. The principal entrance is an insertion. It is pointed, and of a late character.

Opposite the keep stands the magnificent nunnery of Santa Lucia, a modern building, which has succeeded to that of Countess Adelasia, of which not a trace remains. The town of Aderno chiefly consists of convents and churches.

From Aderno, falling into the line of road which leads from Palermo to Messina, we proceeded for some time through a district almost entirely laid waste by the lava which has streamed down this side of the mountain at different times. The road was a wearisome succession of rise and fall. At length we arrived at Bronte, a small town scattered on the slope of an hill, at the back of *Ætna*. It is said to contain fourteen thousand inhabitants, though it does not look as if it could lodge half that number. Bronte has been singularly spared by the torrents of lava which, on different occasions, have just avoided the town at both its extremities. Beneath the town is a valley,

through which flows a small river, on the far side of which rise lofty steeps partially clothed with olives. All the country round is hilly, but arable. Extensive woods cover the distant heights.

Bronte is inhabited by the descendants of an Albanian colony. They are a brown athletic race, and never stir without cloth leggings, an evident remnant of Albanian costume.

Our object in going to Bronte was from thence to visit the *ci-devant* convent of Maniace. Maniace is about seven miles from Bronte, and now forms a part of the estate which was granted to Lord Nelson by the King of Naples. The conventual buildings have been converted into a mansion for the resident English superintendent, or governor, of the Nelson estate; but, during the summer months, he is obliged to take up his quarters at Bronte, on account of the malaria to which Maniace is subject at that period of the year. The governor's son, Don Gulielmo, kindly insisted upon escorting us to Maniace himself,

but, by this time, too much of the day was spent to allow us to attempt the expedition till the following morning.

Under these circumstances, we resolved to fill up the afternoon by walking to see a bed of lava, which streamed down from the mountain only three years ago, and stopped at about the distance of a mile from Bronte. To arrive at the spot, we had to toil across an older bed, which was extremely rough, and made the mile appear one of the longest. At length we stood opposite the object of our walk, and were astonished at the magnitude, the width, and the height, of the black and rugged mass before us. It had stopped short at the edge of a vineyard which was green at its feet, after having advanced slowly and silently for several miles, and destroyed every thing in its way. We could discern the spot, high up the side of the distant volcano, from whence the torrent issued, and could discern its onward course, streaking the green of the forest and the vineyard with its dark and hateful streams. We clambered up the face of

the bed, and, at the suggestion of our guide, scratched away the surface with our sticks, and took up some of the cinders beneath: they were too hot to retain in the hand for above a moment, though they had been cooling for three years.

September 1.—We set out on our expedition with the dawn, and descended into the valley, crossing a bed of lava, the roughness of which was a trial for both mules and horses. Continuing our ride up the valley, at the end of about seven miles, we arrived at Maniace, which stands on a high bank above the river, and is backed by hills. The convent has been skilfully metamorphosed into a comfortable dwelling-house and farm-buildings, to which large magazines have been added, to receive the payments in kind with which Sicilian tenants discharge their debts to their landlords.

The eastern end of the church has been pulled down, but the nave and west end remain * in their

* Vide plate 20.

original state. The whole of this building is in the pointed style, with the exception of the upper tier of windows, which are round-headed and small. The arches of the nave are obtusely pointed, and are surrounded with a single moulding. They rest on pillars, which are alternately round and hexagonal, and have an impost moulding, in the place of a capital.

The lower tier of windows are pointed and undivided. The western portal is pointed, decorated, and of good workmanship. On each side of the door are several small pillars, which support a corresponding number of mouldings. The caps of the pillars are foliated and ornamented with rude figures in the Norman style^a. The bases of the pillars are deeply cut, moulded, and resemble those of the transition style in England. Three of the mouldings reproduce the Norman cable.

This church was built by the mother of William

^a The subjects on the capitals represent the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, and the introduction of agriculture, the chase, and war.

the Good, in 1174^a. At that time, there was a town in its immediate vicinity, which was founded by the Byzantine general, Maniaces, and called after him^b. All traces of the town have disappeared—Bronte is said to have been built with its ruins. In modern times, the no longer doubtful unhealthiness of the spot, at particular periods of the year, induced the Benedictine nuns, who occupied the convent, to withdraw to Bronte. The bed of the adjacent river, which is nearly dry in summer, generates the pestilence, which prevails till the first autumnal rains have washed it away.

Whilst we were at Maniace, clouds gathered round the summit of *Ætna*, and the rain which

^a Margarita, quoque, Regis mater, cœnobium ordinis D. Benedicti, non longe ab oppido Maniace, erexit. Fazellus de rebus Siculis.

Eodem anno 1174, Margarita, Gulielmi mater, in Maniacensi oppido, extruere erepuit Monasterium, ordinis S. Benedicti. Rocco Pirro, in Notitiâ Eccles. Monteregegensis.

^b Manacium oppidum, ad *Ætnæ* radices, a Georgio Maniace conditum.

they announced overtook us before we got back to Bronte. The storm, however, soon subsided.

At the distance of about eighteen miles to the south-west of Bronte, on the summit of a steep hill, stands the town of Traina ^a, at which Count Roger built a church ^b, and established his first episcopal see. Of this place, which I was accidentally prevented from visiting myself, I subjoin an account for which I am indebted to Signor Musumeci, a young Palermitan architect, who went to the spot at my request, and furnished me with accurate plans and drawings of every part of the existing buildings.

Nothing exists of the cathedral built by the Count, except a portion of the east end, and a

^a Vide plate 5.


^b Rogerius cæmentarios conducens undecumque aggregat. Templi jacet fundamenta in urbe Trainicâ. Ad quod perstans ævo brevi superat. Gaufridus, lib. III. c. 19.

In dedicatione ecclesiæ quæ facta est anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo octagesimo primo. Diploma apud Fazellum.

portion of the belfry. These portions are well constructed with large squared stones in regular courses. The style is a studious imitation of the Roman. The lower part of the belfry forms a porch, in which are well-turned round arches, resting on imposts decorated with a Roman moulding. In the east end there is a departure from the habitual plan of the basilica. In shape it is square, and seems never to have contained a semicircular apse. The remainder of the building is a modern reconstruction.

The cathedral is advantageously placed; and the town still occupies that commanding position which made it an acquisition of so much interest to the Norman Count.

About six miles from Traina, Count Roger laid the foundations of another religious edifice about the year 1080. In the midst of extensive forests, he built the convent and church of St. Elias of Ambula, and peopled it with Basilian monks, who followed the Greek rite, and performed the service in the Greek language. This



church and convent were totally destroyed by an earthquake, which greatly injured the town and cathedral of Traina, and all the surrounding district, in 1643. The forests remain, and contain a noble supply of oak, well adapted for naval purposes.

CHAPTER VII.

DEPARTING from Bronte, we ascended for some time, and passed over many successive beds of lava, which, on this side, have rushed down at different periods, and made great havoc. The country immediately around us was wild and uninteresting; but *Ætna* was always on our right, and was now capped with snow, for the rain, which had overtaken us in the valley, was congealed in the upper regions. Descending at length, we were environed by groves of oak and chestnut, and soon after arrived at the town of Randazzo.

Randazzo was a town of importance in the middle ages. It was originally peopled by a colony of Lombards, whom the Normans brought

over from Calabria, and who were afterwards distinguished for the enmity which they bore to the Saracens^a.

The town remains much as it was in those days; and is in full possession of its old walls, old houses, narrow, winding streets, and handsome churches. In every part of it you see pointed doorways, and windows divided by slender pillars. Many of the houses on which these architectural ornaments appear, are of small size. Space was a luxury beyond the reach even of the rich, so long as the protection of walls was indispensable.

The Madre Chiesa is modern, with the exception of its campanile, which is a good tower, constructed with alternate courses of black and white stone. The arches of its windows are very obtuse. The windows are surrounded with rich

^a From the time of Frederick of Arragon, Randazzo occasionally conferred a ducal title on the younger sons of the kings of Sicily, which implies that Randazzo was a city, for some reason or other, to be considered.

mouldings, and divided by single pillars, with foliated capitals of a simple character.

The Church of Santa Maria, at the opposite extremity of the town, is a much more interesting building. It is built with large, squared blocks of lava. It has three apses at the east end, which are ornamented, externally, with heads and Norman mouldings. At the west end is a lofty tower, with a porch underneath. The arches of the porch, as well as of the doorway into the church, are pointed. The doorway has several mouldings, supported by a corresponding number of pillars, which are ornamented with cheverons in low relief, and are divided into two tiers by a rich connecting band. The capitals of these pillars exhibit rude figures of animals. Whilst, however, there are features belonging to this porch which correspond with those of northern buildings, it differs materially from an English or French structure of the thirteenth century.

An inscription in this church records that the name of the architect who superintended its re-

construction, was Leo Cumier^a; and the name implies that the architect was not an Italian. He is believed to have been a member of one of those numerous German families who were located

^a The date of this church is recorded in two inscriptions, still preserved in different parts of the building. One inscription says—

“ Anno Domini 1238 actum est hoc opus.”

The other is engraved on a block of lava, which is still to be seen in the walls of the church, though no longer in its original situation. One or two words of this inscription are wanting, and it is full of contractions; but it has been deciphered by the joint labours of Don Augustino Gallo and the Abbate Buschemi, who read it as follows:—

Mille ducenta decem quinque et septena fluebant
 Tempora post genitum sanctâ de virgine Verbum,
 Construitur, tecti lapidum subnixa columnis,
 Virginis hæc Aula. bis senis arte politis
 Arcubus illustrat Leo Cumier arte mirandâ,
 Hoc opus egregium Christi venerabile templum.

For the above inscriptions, and much other valuable information, I am indebted to the kindness of Don Augustino Gallo, of Palermo, deservedly celebrated for his extensive acquaintance with the antiquities and the fine arts of his country.

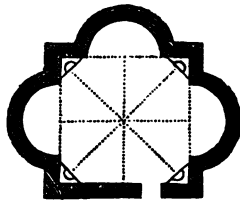
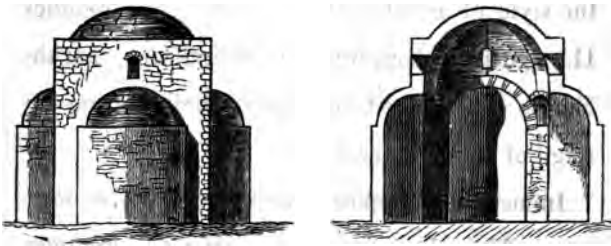
in Sicily by the Emperor Henry VI., or of those who were introduced in 1198 by Marcovaldo, Duke of Ravenna, who, taking advantage of the minority of Frederick II., attempted to secure to himself the dominion of Sicily, under the pretext of assuming the regency.

Santa Maria di Randazzo throws light upon the style of architecture in the time of Frederick II., as it is evident, from the inscriptions, that the church must have been nearly rebuilt during the reign of that Emperor.

Immediately opposite this church is a doorway which is ornamented with the Norman cheveron.

At the distance of about six miles from Randazzo, just below the village of Malvagna, still exists an ancient Greek chapel, one of the very few remnants of the lower Greek empire now to be found in Sicily. It is a square building, roofed with a stone cupola, and, on three of its sides, has a semicircular apse. In this building all the arches are circular, and its four little windows are

round-headed. Though of small size, and wholly unadorned, it is an object of interest, as exhibiting the features of the genuine Byzantine style, and as revealing the source from whence were derived some of the peculiarities which appear in Sicilian buildings of a subsequent date.



PLAN, ELEVATION, AND SECTION OF THE ANCIENT GREEK
CHAPEL, NEAR MALVAGNA.

The dimension of the square is 17 feet 6 inches English.

Beyond Randazzo, the scenery is picturesque, and the country productive. Oaks and chestnuts, vineyards and olives, abound. *Ætna* is on the right, and a distant range of mountains on the left.

From this point we continued to descend, and arrived at *Lingua Grossa*, where we slept for the night at a comfortless inn.

September 2.—Starting at four, we descended rapidly through a richly-cultivated country, occasionally crossed by streams of lava, to *Piè di Monte*, from whence we descended still more rapidly to *Giardini*—at this point accomplishing the circuit of *Ætna*. *Giardini* is just below *Taormina*, on the sea-shore; and, in this delicious climate, with its oranges, its rocks, and its trees, offers the contrast of the beautiful to the sublime which awaits you above.

From *Giardini* we toiled up a very steep zig-zag path, about a mile and a half in length, and arrived at *Taormina*, which stands on a com-

manding eminence, with more aspiring and singularly formed heights at its back. Taormina is still a large town, and is said to contain five thousand inhabitants. The town itself is full of subjects for the pencil, in which Saracinesque walls and houses, mixing with stone pines, palms, and orange trees, are the foreground—mountains and the sea, the distance. Some of the houses are ornamented with arabesque patterns in black and white, which gives an oriental character to the place. But the glory of Taormina is beyond: the celebrated view of *Ætna*, from the ruins of the Greek theatre; certainly one of the finest views in the world, and one of which words, and even the pencil, can but impart a faint idea. The theatre stands quite clear of the town, on the ridge of a projecting height fronting the mountain, and looking down upon the sea. The ruins of a Greek theatre, with a sea of amethyst seen through its broken arches, might suffice of itself; but then comes *Ætna* beyond, displaying the whole of its magnificent flank, and sweeping

down to the ocean. Bits of the town, an old fortress above, a sugar-loaf village beyond, with various peaks and heights more or less distant, fill up a scene which is rendered doubly enchanting by the atmosphere and the sun that reveal it so distinctly and so brilliantly. Turn round, as you stand on the upper row of seats, and you have the mountains and the coast all the way to Messina, ancient tombs, headlands and promontories—a combination sufficient of itself to make the reputation of any other place. Nothing can surpass Taormina.

It was well that we had taken the wings of the morning, for, before we got back to Giardini, the mountain was covered, half way down, with clouds.

From Giardini, the road follows the coast to Messina, a distance of about eighty miles. The road is good. The country abounds in vineyards and olives. The views are often beautiful, especially where the fort of San Alessio adds so picturesque a feature. The only drawback

is the frequent interruption of immensely wide *fumaras*, which are beyond the grasp of bridges, and, in the rainy season, often suspend all communication for days and days. It was dark long before we got back to Messina.

CHAPTER VIII.

SEPTEMBER 3.—In the afternoon, set forth on a short expedition to Calabria, to ascertain whether any vestiges still existed of the many buildings which Count Roger is known to have erected at and near Mileto. It was at Mileto that he principally lived before the conquest of Sicily, at Mileto that his marriage with the beautiful Eremburga was solemnized, and at Mileto that he died.

We set forth in an open boat, which was to convey us to Palmi, a town on the opposite coast, about eighteen miles distant from Mileto.

A light breeze soon wafted us across the strait. We passed under the romantic rock and town of Sylla, and at sunset arrived at the *scarigatura* of Palmi. This landing-place is

nothing but an inlet amongst scattered rocks, over which we had to scramble as well as we could. A wild crew, who were awaiting our arrival, seized upon our luggage, and, to keep pace with them, we were obliged to toil up the steep zig-zag at a quick march. We arrived, after it was dark, in the narrow streets of Palmi, and were conducted to the best inn, of which the only entrance was through the stable.

The new public road from Reggio to Naples passes close to Palmi, and through Mileto; but as no carriage of any description was to be found in Palmi, we were obliged to engage horses for the next day's journey. The dawn of the next morning brought our steeds to the door, equipped with saddles and bridles that beggar description. The stirrup-leathers were fastened to the saddles with rotten pack-thread, as we afterwards learned to our cost. The din and the screaming, and the time that was lost before all was adjusted, made me think myself again in Turkey. At length we started, attended by two Calabrese guides on

foot—fine, active men, brown as Moors, wearing reddish nightcaps that hung down on one side, and short, white trousers, that contrasted with their tawny legs. Their occupation, during the journey, was to encourage the steeds with various discordant sounds, or repair the numerous mishaps which befel us, from the wretched condition of the tackle which they had provided. Of course we could only advance at a foot's pace, though the road was the *strada consulare*.

The country through which we passed was universally hilly, well clothed, in the immediate vicinity of Palmi, with fine, dark-leaved olives; after which came districts of maize stubble, in which herds of small, grey cattle were turned to feed; or extensive commons, on which flocks of goats were cropping the myrtle and Mediterranean heath. In the valleys, where running streams afforded the means of irrigation, there were fields of water-melons, which the peasants, sitting under temporary sheds covered with long reeds, offered for sale to the thirsty passenger.

On our left we commanded a view of the Gulf of Gioia, and the small town of Nicòtera, on the side of a rugged hill. On our right, the shadowy forms of the Apennines always appeared in the distance.

The interior of this part of Calabria is thinly inhabited. We saw few habitations, and only passed through a single village.

The few travellers we met were all armed, unless it was a village priest on his mule, with the muleteer at his side. A Calabrese gentleman overtook us, who was riding a journey with two servants behind him, whose horses carried the baggage. All the party had guns slung across their shoulders, and swords at their sides.

The female peasants, whom we chanced to see, were tall and upright, with good features, and rather a clear complexion. Their head-gear was of white cloth, rolled round the head, thrown back as a veil, and hanging down to the shoulder,

apparently a remnant of Greek costume. Altogether they had a patrician air, which contrasted singularly with their bare legs and their homely occupations.

It took us seven hours to accomplish our eighteen miles. During the latter part of the ride, we suffered intensely from the heat.

At length we approached Mileto, at the first sight of which I felt a misgiving, for there was not a feature of antiquity about the place; but one of our guides pointed to the cathedral, which stands at the entrance of the town from the south, and told us that within its walls was the tomb of the Norman Count. He had seen it himself, said our guide, more than once. The cathedral was evidently modern; but, though a reconstruction, it might still contain the original tomb. We immediately alighted with the haste and eagerness of pilgrims, and hurried into the church to visit the shrine. Not only was there no Norman tomb to be found, but, as we soon learned, the whole

town, as well as the cathedral, was a modern erection. The spot at which we had arrived was not the original Mileto. The original Mileto stood in quite another situation. Totally destroyed by two tremendous earthquakes, it was finally abandoned by its inhabitants, who prepared for themselves a new residence at the distance of about a mile and a half from their former abode.

Grievously disappointed as we were by this discovery, we were compensated by the information which we afterwards received on all archæological subjects connected with this part of Calabria, from the Tesoriere Lombardo Comite, a prebendary of the chapter of Mileto, with whom we accidentally became acquainted, and who showed us a degree of attention which we must always recollect with gratitude. From him we learned the history of Mileto, and also learned that another spot, which we had intended to visit, had experienced an exactly similar fate. This other spot was the Norman convent of St.

Euphemia^a, which at one time was so renowned as to give its name to the Gulf. So complete is the change which the effects of the convulsion have produced at St. Euphemia, that the very site of the monastic buildings is now occupied by an extensive lake, the waters of which, receding in summer, leave muddy banks that fill the country round with the most pestilential air. There was a third spot, in the neighbourhood of Mileto, which we also intended to visit: the monastery of San Stefano del Bosco, which Count Roger built in a wild part of the Apen-

^a The monastery of St. Euphemia was a Benedictine institution, founded by Robert Guiscard. Robert de Grentemesnil, ex-prior of St. Evroult in Normandy, became its first abbot. It boasted of the possession of the head of St. Euphemia, who suffered martyrdom at Chalcedonia, and whose body was translated from that city to Constantinople, in the seventh century. St. Euphemia was particularly venerated by the Greek Church, on which account Guiscard probably selected her as the patroness of the foundation, which he placed in the midst of his new Greek subjects.

nines, as a resting-place for his celebrated contemporary, San Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian order. As the Tesoriere expressed his belief that something was still to be seen at San Stefano, and as the expedition was at least likely to conduct us through picturesque scenes, we determined to carry it into execution the following day, and to devote this afternoon to an examination of the vestiges of ancient Mileto.

In the afternoon, therefore, accompanied by the good old Tesoriere, who insisted on escorting us, we walked down to the site of ancient Mileto. The site is romantic : a ridge of land between two deep ravines, at the bottom of which run two little rivers. Blue Apennines are seen to the east ; and, through an opening in the hills to the south, you catch a distant view of the sea, extending to the Pharos of Messina. Upon this ridge, and stretching down its breast, was placed the ancient Mileto, in a situation rather strong than convenient, but such as was preferred in the middle ages. Little more is now left than substructions

and scattered stones. We first went to the ruins of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity, which stood on an eminence of its own, without the walls of the town. Here nothing remains but a small portion of the walls of both ends of the church—enough to show that it was on a large scale, and in the form of the Latin cross. The walls were very thick, built with rubble, and faced with squared stones in regular courses. Many fragments strew the ground; marble fragments of columns, cornices, architraves, indisputably proving that the materials of ancient Roman buildings had been employed in the construction of this church. They were purloined, as the Tesoriere informed us, partly from a temple of Proserpine at Hipponium, now San Leone; and partly, he has reason to believe, from a temple of Cybele which stood on the plain of Messiano. The church must therefore have been built in a style conformable with the Roman materials—a style from which the Normans appear never to have departed in Apulia or Calabria. In this church, till the time of its total

destruction in 1783, remained two Roman sarcophagi, which were always popularly called the tombs of Count Roger, and of his first wife, Eremberga. Count Roger is known to have been buried in the Church of the Holy Trinity^a; and as, even in later times, it was customary to employ ancient sarcophagi for the sepulchres of distinguished persons^b, the tradition may possibly be the truth. These sarcophagi still exist. The smaller one, which is ornamented with the battle of the Amazons, and the lid of the larger one, have been removed to new Mileto, where they are left, exposed to every injury, in the open air. The larger sarcophagus itself was too heavy to be easily removed, and remains in the vineyard

^a Mortuus demum Rogerius Comes apud Miletum, anno 1101, ætatis suæ 70, in æde Sanctæ Trinitatis, quam ipse fundaveret, regio more tumultatus est. Rocco Pirro, *Chronologia Regum Siciliae*, p. 18.

^b The tomb of Constantia, wife of Frederick of Arragon, in the cathedral of Palermo, is an ancient sarcophagus. She died in 1363.

which now surrounds the ruins of the abbey. This sarcophagus was always called the tomb of Count Roger.

From the abbey we proceeded to the site of the town, the greater part of which is now cultivated ground. The Tesoriere showed us the mount on which stood the chapel of St. Martin, which was also built by the Count, and in which one of his sons was buried. We walked on to the ruins of what, in later times, was the bishop's palace, but originally was the castle of the Count. Near it stood the cathedral. The latter is entirely gone, and of the former only remain substructions, in which a few round arches are visible. These are the only vestiges which exist of the residence of the illustrious Norman; but it is always worth while to ascertain the fact that nothing is left, and it is always a satisfaction to wander over scenes with which the memory of a great man is associated.

September 3.—Set out with two Calabrese guides, and a man with a gun, (rather an honorary

escort than a requisite guard,) to visit San Stefano del Bosco, which is situated near the village of La Serra, about seven hours' ride from Mileto. The ride was a fatiguing one, for it is a country of mountains, valleys, and rivers. You have to climb from one step of the Apennines up to another; and the path, which man has never mended, universally goes up and down the most difficult places. At first, the aspect of things was unpleasant; but the activity and sure-footedness of my Calabrese pony soon set me at my ease. He would endure no bridle—nothing more than his accustomed halter; but I soon perceived that I had nothing to do but to leave him to himself; and the confidence and security with which he slid down the steepest banks, stepped along the edge of unguarded precipices, and jumped from stone to stone in boggy places, was really surprising.

After about three hours, we came to the villages of Suriglio and Surigliello—the one on an eminence, the other clinging to the breast of

an adjacent hill, and entirely surrounded with wood; both very picturesque.


Here we had a dispute with our Calabrese guides, who wanted to make us stop at an unseasonable hour, and bait at the house of a friend. Our guides were two brothers, both young and good-looking. The elder appeared as if he was fashioned by nature to belong to one of those bands by which the wilder parts of Calabria were formerly infested. The younger was a gentler character—one who would not have done wrong of himself, but followed the lead of his more energetic companion. There was much spluttering in an unintelligible jargon, much gesticulation, and flashing of dark eyes. Finally we prevailed, assisted by our man with the gun, and pursued our way.

We had now to climb up to another level by an extremely steep, and, in some places, formidable ascent. The path wound along the side of a cliff, usually without any protection from the precipice beneath. Further on, it was

a chink between two walls of rock, over-canopied by oaks and chestnuts. At length we emerged; and found ourselves upon a smooth surface of land, which was sometimes cultivated, sometimes overrun with heath. On the commons, shepherds were tending mixed flocks of sheep and goats. We were surprised by the sight of carts in these upper regions, but they were of a most primitive construction: boxes attached to solid circles of wood—nothing else could have resisted the rugged tracks through which they were destined to pass. At length, having gained another summit, we looked down upon a valley, bounded, on the opposite side, by the back bone of the Apennines, covered with primæval forests of fir. In this valley is the little town of Serra, and, at the upper end of the valley, the remains of San Stefano del Bosco.

We went at once to the ruins. An embattled wall, with turrets at the angles, still surrounds the conventual buildings. Penetrating within, we carefully examined the deserted and crumbling

pile, which remains just as it was left by the earthquake of 1783. The walls of the church and of the abbot's lodging, the cloister, and other parts of the convent, remain standing, more or less injured; but we soon perceived that the whole had been a modern reconstruction: not a particle of the original San Stefano del Bosco exists. At the convent gate we slaked our thirst at a fountain constructed by the monks, which still brings the most deliciously cool water from the mountains above. From hence we went half a mile further up the valley to the beginning of the forest, where, on a little eminence, stands Santa Maria del Bosco—a modern building, which has replaced the original chapel. Opposite the chapel is an oratory, within which is a marble statue of St. Bruno, and an inscription setting forth that it was to this spot that the holy recluse used to retire for meditation. It is an appropriate spot, overshadowed by huge silver firs and old beeches, and formerly must have been more completely surrounded by the trees of the adjacent forest.



It was in this sombre retirement that St. Bruno framed the rigid rules of that Carthusian order, which was afterwards established in so many countries. A German by birth, Bruno had migrated to Rome, and there, by his talents and his conduct, so much attracted the notice and esteem of the Pope, his patron, that Urban II. pressed him to accept the archiepiscopal see of Reggio. To avoid honours which were not to his taste, Bruno withdrew, with a few followers, to a wilderness near Squillace.—He was thus brought into the neighbourhood of the Norman Count, who soon heard of his fame, and wishing to fix him nearer his own residence, prepared for him an abode on the Mileto side of the Apennines, and endowed it with a large district of the surrounding country. In that convent Bruno passed the remainder of his life, and there died, in 1101,

To the above-mentioned oratory the silver statue of St. Bruno is still brought in procession from La Serra once a year, and near this spot the fair of

San Stefano del Bosco

St. Bruno is annually held. It begins on the first of May and lasts eight days.

About two hours more would have conducted us to the summit from whence the Adriatic is descried—and from whence the path descends, on the contrary side of the Apennines, to Stilo^a, Squillace, and other towns. The day, however, was too much advanced to allow us to undertake the ascent—and, having completed our examination of St. Stefano, we made the best of our way to La Serra.

La Serra is a busy, manufacturing village, resounding with hammers and anvils.—The iron, which is found in the quarries of Stilo, and prepared at the foundries of Mongiana^b, is wrought

^a Near Stilo, on an eminence, is still to be seen a small Greek church, of the time of the Byzantine empire. It is a square building, constructed of brick, and has five little cupolas. The central cupola is supported by four marble pillars. It is minutely described in the *Memorie della Chiesa di Mileto*, compilata da Vito Capialdi.

^b La Mongiana is about five miles from La Serra, and

into shape at La Serra. It was the busiest spot we had seen since we left Marseilles.

Our room, in the village inn, was under a pigeon house.—It will, therefore, be easily believed that we went to bed, but not to sleep.

Sept. 6.—Returned to Mileto. In our way, caught distant views of the castle of Monteleone, which was built by Frederick II., and stands in an elevated situation, domineering over the town, about five miles to the north of Mileto.

Sept. 7.—Left Mileto, and having been able to procure a carriage at Monteleone, returned to the coast much faster than we came.

On our way we observed a young man on horse-back, approaching from the interior with a whole train of attendants on foot; some with guns, some with long, heavy poles—all with their jackets slung over their arms, and their long brown night caps floating down to their shoulders. On enquiring

Stilo is six miles beyond La Mongiana. The foundries at La Mongiana are in the hands of the Neapolitan government.

what all this meant, we were informed that it was the son of a *possidente*, or landed proprietor, of the neighbourhood, who was on an expedition of inspection and collection of rents. It was a very picturesque party, and carried one back to the middle ages, the feudal lord, and his retainers.

We returned by the same road by which we came, but, instead of turning off to Palmi, went on a few miles farther to Bagnara. From the high ground upon which we now found ourselves, we caught magnificent views of the sea, the Lipari islands, the coast of Sicily, and the Pharos of Messina.

The heights along the Calabrese coast are so abrupt that it must have been no easy task to conduct the road down to such towns as are situated on the beach.—The descent to Bagnara requires all the resources of zigzags and bridges. Beyond that town the road creeps along the coast to Scylla and Reggio.

At Bagnara we engaged a boat to transport us back to Sicily, but were detained for some time.

It was necessary for the boatmen to provide themselves with a passport, and, as it was past noon, the Cancelliere and the Giudice had betaken themselves to their siesta and could not be disturbed. At length the functionaries condescended to wake, and we effected our departure, well pleased with the glimpse we had caught of the picturesque Calabrese.

The passage was prosperous, and we got back to Messina soon after dark.

CHAPTER IX.

BESIDES the churches of Messina which have been already described, there are two which, though deserted, deserve to be noticed. One in the town, now used as a magazine, which is called Santa Maria Alemanna, and was formerly the chapel of the priory belonging to the Teutonic knights, who were introduced into Sicily by the Emperor Frederick II. Frederick II. took that order under his especial protection. He built for them the priory of San Leonardo, near Foggia, in Apulia, as well as that of Santa Maria at Messina, and endowed each foundation with extensive domains.

The Teutonic order owed its origin to a German nobleman, who founded an hospital and chapel at Jerusalem for the reception of such of his countrymen as might visit the holy sepulchre.

As these pilgrims were often attacked on their way by the Mahometans, a gallant band of the same nation united themselves together for the protection of the pilgrims, and the service of the hospital, and took the appellation of the Teutonic knights. None but Germans nobly born could belong to the order. Their arms were a black cross on a white shield.

The hospital at Messina was open for the reception of all Germans who were bound for Palestine—Messina being, at that time, the port to which the greatest number of crusaders and pilgrims resorted, and from which they set sail for the East. From all these circumstances the church above mentioned acquired the name of Santa Maria Alemanna.

This building is in the early pointed style. The arches of the nave have mouldings, and rest on piers to which half pillars are attached, of which the capitals are delicately worked, foliated, and of different patterns.—The principal door has, on each side, two spiral pillars, with a

pilaster between; these support a corresponding number of mouldings. On the outside mouldings are sculptured figures of men with musical instruments, on the next are monsters of various kinds, centaurs, griffins, &c. On the interior moulding appears the Norman cheveron.

Santa Maria Alemanna was begun about the year 1223*. It was struck by lightning, during a tremendous storm, in the year 1612—and so much injured as no longer to be available for the purposes of divine worship.

The other church stands on an eminence, a few miles distant from Messina, on the way to the telegraph. It is generally known by the name of la Badia, or la Badiazza. The church is large;

* In the year 1223, Herman of Salza, grand master of the Teutonic order, accompanied John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, when that sovereign came to Europe to implore the assistance of the Christian potentates against the infidels who had driven him out of his dominions. The emperor Frederick espoused his cause, and granted to the Teutonic knights in his suite the jurisdiction and revenues of many religious establishments.

with three apses, at the east end, but no transepts. Over the intersection of the transepts and nave is a Greek cupola supported in each angle by a series of small arches, which ingeniously connect the square beneath with the circle above. The arches of the nave are pointed, with one sinking. They rest on cluster piers, composed of four half pillars, with foliated and various capitals, worked in the Greek manner.

The windows are simple lancets. The principal doorway exhibits a singular mixture of Greek and Norman mouldings—and its semi-circular arch rests on an impost, which, as well as the lintel, is ornamented with a Greek moulding.

This church, as well as another within the walls of the city, belonged to the nuns of Santa Maria della Scala. La Badia was richly endowed by William II., the emperor Henry VI., the empress Constantia, and other sovereigns in Sicily, but at what time the church was rebuilt in the form in which it now appears

is uncertain. The name of the abbey was, at first, della Valle, but was changed to della Scala in consequence of a miracle which is alleged to have occurred before 1168. It is probable that the church was rebuilt soon after the proclamation of the miracle. The abbey was altogether abandoned by the nuns in the early part of the 16th century, and the church is now in ruins.

We have now completed the survey of the eastern side of Sicily, and the result of the observations which we have made, up to this time, is, that the Normans, upon their first arrival, in this part of the island, at least, continued to build in the Romanesque, or round style, but appear to have, at a very early period, exchanged it for a sort of pointed style which, in many respects, differs from the pointed style of the north, but which, having once been adopted, was ever after retained.

CHAPTER X.

WISHING to visit Cefalu, in our way from Messina to Palermo, and at the same time to avoid the heat, to which, at this time of the year, we should have been exposed on the backs of mules, (for there is no carriage road along the coast,) we had recourse to an open boat, with sails and a crew of six men, who were to row in case of calms, or light contrary winds. We had, however, reason to repent of having decided to accomplish 180 miles in a manner so full of uncertainty.

Scarcely had we turned the point of the Pharos before we were met by a contrary wind, against which the sailors pulled as long as they could, but it came on to blow so strong that, at the distance of 24 miles from Messina, we were obliged to give up the struggle, drag the boat

up on the desolate beach, and wait for better fortune.

As soon as the boat was secured, all hands were employed in the consolatory operation of making preparations for dinner. We had laid in a good stock of provisions at Messina, but our whole *batterie de cuisine* consisted of two earthen vessels, like large flower pots, with the stands uppermost. Together they acted the part of stoves and saucepans. These were hoisted on the beach, and our Neapolitan servant, who was, fortunately, a good cook, and never so happy as when exercising his art, after an interminable process of stewing, boiling, and seasoning, turned us out an excellent and abundant meal, which we ate in the boat, under our horse-hair awning, with a plank for our table.

When night came on, the boom of the sail was lowered, and over it was thrown an additional length of horse-hair, which, together with the awning over the stern, turned the whole boat into a cabin. A small lanthorn, suspended mid-

way, just made darkness visible. A wide mattress, laid on planks in the stern, was our luxurious couch. The men wrapped themselves up in their cloaks, and disposed of themselves in the bottom of the boat. We could not have been more independent had we been cast on the shore of an uninhabited island.

By the next morning the wind had subsided. The heavy clouds which had hung over all the heights, especially those of Calabria, gradually rolled away. A Grecale, or north-eastern, breeze sprung up, and enabled us to resume our voyage. About noon we turned the point of Milazzo, which runs far out, ending in rugged cliffs, on which there is a light-house. Soon after turning this point the breeze died away, but the men took to their oars, and a severe pull they had of it, for about 24 miles, across the bay of Patti. Ever and anon they encouraged each other with shrill ejaculations, amongst which the repeated sound of Allagh, Allagh, appeared a Saracenic remnant^a.

^a The captains of the Speronaras on the Sicilian coast

The coast, on the shores of this bay, is mountainous; but the rugged slopes are covered with olives, and fertile spaces intervene. The sailors pointed out to us the convent of *La Madonna di Tindaro*, which stands on a lofty cliff, with the snow-capt summit of *Ætna* (in reality 50 miles distant) apparently at its side. On our right, smoking *Stromboli*, and all the *Lipari* cluster, enriched the scene. At length we discovered the town of *Patti*, which stands on a pyramidal hill of its own, backed by lofty mountains. The little cathedral (for *Patti* is an episcopal see) crowns the height, and its *campanile* forms the apex. As we drew nearer we perceived an old tower and a few lone houses on the shore, little thinking, at the moment, how well acquainted with them we were destined to become. Here we cast anchor, meaning to proceed again when the land breeze came off shore, as it usually does at night,

still call each other *Reisi Beppo*, *Reisi Antonio*, which evidently comes from the Arabic word *Reis*, which signifies the captain of a vessel.

on this coast, in moderate weather. In the mean time we landed, and went up to the town by a broad public walk, on each side of which are irrigated gardens. The town is composed of very steep, very narrow, winding, and ill-paved streets. We observed a few respectable houses with iron balconies, decorated with flower pots stuck on the spikes. More well dressed people were to be seen than might have been expected, and, as usual, a bevy of sleek ecclesiastics. We clambered up to the cathedral, in which repose the ashes of queen Adelasia, but found a modern recumbent figure which had been substituted, of late years, in the place of the original tomb^a.

The view from this height is rich and beautiful; on one side there is ground much tumbled about, vineyards, olive groves, and mountains beyond, on the summit of which are the crumbling walls of Gioiosa, deserted because so frequently da-

^a Count Roger founded a Benedictine Convent at Patti, in which the proud Adelasia hid her mortification from the world, when she returned to Sicily from Jerusalem.

maged by lightning. On the other side, you behold the sea, and the Lipari islands.

By the time we returned to the shore we found our boat drawn up on the beach. There was already an heavy swell, portending no good, and, at the hour that the land breeze should have come to our assistance, returned the westerly wind instead, and blew with increasing violence. The same wind continued to blow for the next two days without intermission. Our patience was put to a severe trial. You do not resign yourself to an evil from which you may be relieved at any moment.

On one of these days we made an expedition to the ruins of ancient Tyndarus, which stood on a height about seven miles to the east of Patti. The port of Tyndarus is now a bed of sand, whether from deposits brought down by wintry torrents, or because the sea has retired. The modern accumulation chokes up the natural drainage of the soil. In consequence, the neighbourhood is afflicted with malaria to a dreadful

degree. Nevertheless, a wretched village, attracted by the tunny fishery, which is very profitable there in the spring, has, of late years, grown up on the beach.

On the cliff above are considerable traces of ancient walls, tombs, and substructions, but nothing remains in any state of preservation except part of a temple, which, from its architecture, must be late Roman. Marks on its walls evince that they were once encrusted with marble. It is now filled up with rubbish to within a foot or two of the capitals of the pilasters on which the arches rest which supported the vaulted roof. Within the temple three or four statues were found, a few years ago, in a good state of preservation, but not of remarkable merit^a.

From the temple we went to the convent, in which there is nothing to admire except the noble view it commands of the sea and the Lipari islands.

^a These statues are now in the public Museum at Palermo.

Sept. 14.—The wind moderated and we resumed our way. For some hours we tacked about with little advantage, when suddenly, after the capricious manner of the Mediterranean, the wind totally subsided, and enabled our boatmen to take to their oars. The coast continued to be mountainous. On several heights we saw curious hill-villages, and several old towers on projecting points of the shore. Above the village of Borro we observed an old castle, of which the principal tower has Saracinesque battlements and windows. This evening we were only able to advance as far as a cluster of fishermen's huts, called San Gregorio, where there is a small cove, surrounded by reefs and rocks. But, at half past three in the morning, the curtain at the end of our tent was drawn up, and discovered the polar star, bright as a planet, and our men in the bustle of departure. The vento di terra had descended from the hills, and for some hours helped us on our way. At length we clearly distinguished the rocky height at the base of which Cefalu is situated, and began

to indulge the notion of arriving there before night. Suddenly the contrary wind returned with all its violence, clouds collected on the summits of all the mountains and islands; the skies and the sea darkened; there was every appearance of an approaching storm; and we were compelled to fly for refuge to the Marina of Tusa. It seemed as if a spell hung about Cefalu. The storm, however, was only a passing gale. The wind went down with the sun. At two o'clock, the next morning, the *vento di terra* returned, and about nine o'clock, on the morning of September the 16th, we turned the corner of the rock of Cefalu, and at length beheld, at its foot, the town and its far famed cathedral^a.

Cefalu is a town of the middle ages, built at the base of a cliff, on a ledge of rocks which just lift it above the sea, and form its very insufficient harbour. The cathedral stands alone, at the extremity of the town, on elevated ground, imme-

^a Vide Plate 29.

diately below the cliff. On the summit of the height are faint vestiges of the ancient Cephale-dium, and the walls of modern fortifications.

The peculiar interest which is attached to the cathedral of Cefalu arises from the certainty of its date. In the autumn of 1131, King Roger, when he was in danger of perishing by a tempest on his return from Calabria to Sicily, vowed, if he were permitted to escape, to build a church wherever he first set foot on shore. He landed at Cefalu. The cathedral was begun in the following year.

Amongst a crowd of xebeques, felucas, and spe-roneras, we landed at the same spot, where King Roger set his foot on shore; but could not enter the city where he did, for the old pointed water-gate is walled up, and a modern entrance is erected in a line with the principal street. Without loss of time we hastened to the cathedral. It is a building of considerable size, in the shape of the Latin cross; perfect, and intact in all its principal parts. It consists of a nave, side aisles, and tran-

septs, and has three apses at the east end, but no central tower. The choir and transepts are vaulted and groined. The nave has a wooden roof. In the nave and transepts there is a triforium, but no cleristery.

All the arches are pointed*. The arches on each side the nave, at the intersection of the nave and the transepts, in the triforium, over the windows, in the external ornaments, all are pointed.

The pillars of the nave are taken from earlier buildings with capitals of the time, most of which imitate the Corinthian. There is a wide interval between the capitals and the spring of the arch. The perpendicular line is prolonged to gain elevation.

In the capitals of the pillars, at the intersection of the nave and the transepts, rude figures are mixed with the foliage in the Norman style.

On each side of the principal apse are two

* Vide Plate 11.

tiers of pillars with capitals, but no pillars adorn the apse itself, because the whole of its semicircle, as well as the adjoining walls of the choir, are covered with Mosaics, after the Byzantine manner. The Madonna occupies the centre; angels, apostles, prophets, kings, and judges, warriors and saints, cover the rest of the space. The names of the saints are inscribed in Greek characters. At the entrance of the choir, on each side, are white marble thrones, ornamented with Mosaics. Over the one on the right is written, "Sedes episcopalis;" over the one on the left, "Sedes regia."

The windows are plain, and without mullions. At the end of the transepts there are small circular windows beneath obtuse lancets.

The west front is exceedingly plain—consisting of a recess between two square projecting towers. The upper part of the recess, as also of the towers, is ornamented with a series of small

* Vide Plate 10.

interlacing arches, surrounded with the chevron moulding.

The west portal^a is remarkably curious. It is a semicircle, within a pediment, resting on plain pilasters. The moulding of the pediment is an imitation of the acanthus. The portal has five enriched *faciæ*, with a bead at the edge. On the outside moulding is an enriched scroll, terminating with animals; on the next is the egg and tongue pattern; on the third, figures, and *pateras*; on the fourth, interlacing foliage; and on the *facia*, next the door, appears the Norman chevron. The portal and pediment are of white marble. Above this door is a pointed window; and, in the towers, are two tiers of pointed windows, of which those in the upper tier are divided by small pillars. A porch of three arches has been carried across from tower to tower. The roof of this porch is pointed, groined, and has en-

^a Vide Plate 13.

riched key-stones. Its lateral arches are pointed, but the centre arch is round. The capitals of its pillars are enriched with coats of arms. This porch is an addition, and cannot be older than the fourteenth century.

A repetition of the small interlacing arches, with the chevron, appears as an ornament on the upper part of the external walls of the transepts.

The outside of the east end is much enriched *. On the two side apses appear slender pillars, supporting pointed arches, with a cornice under the eaves, consisting of a series of small semicircles, resting on grotesque heads, as is seen in so many of the churches of Normandy. The principal apse has slender coupled pillars (with capitals) which are carried up to the cornice. The cornice itself is formed of grotesque heads.

The whole of the building is constructed with large square stones, and the choir is in good con-

* Vide Plate 12.

dition ; though portions of the upper part appear never to have been entirely finished ^a.

The cathedral of Cefalu, then, is indisputably in the pointed style, with a mixture of Norman, of Roman, of Greek, and of Byzantine, in its ornaments and details.

Adjoining to the cathedral, on the northern side, is the bishop's palace, which looks over the sea. The palace is a modern building, with the exception of the cloister which connects it with the church ^b. This cloister consists of plain, pointed arches, resting on coupled columns, which are covered with a variety of elaborate patterns. The capitals of the columns are not alike. Some have figures ; others, are a very close imitation of the Greek ; all are of marble, and beautifully executed.

In our way back from the cathedral, and in other parts of the town, we observed in many of the houses, old pointed windows, divided by single

^a The cathedral of Cefalu is, internally, 230 feet long, and 90 feet wide.

^b Vide Plate 14.

pillars—some ornamented with patterns in black and white stone.

Cefalu is said to contain 20,000 inhabitants, but does not appear to be a flourishing place, or ever to have received its share of improvement. All the trades work in the streets, before their doors, which implies that they are not liable to much interruption.

On the opposite side of the bay are hills clothed with olives; capes and promontories appear beyond, some of which are on the far side of Palermo.

I left Cefalu the same afternoon, impelled by the first favourable breeze which had filled our sails since we turned the Pharos. We glided along in a very agreeable manner, past Termini, and for a few miles beyond.

The breeze then died away. The men had recourse to their oars. It became dark. At length we descried the lights of Palermo, which were then about twelve miles distant. "I lumi di Palermo!" exclaimed our men, who had not been

a little annoyed by the tedious length of the voyage. "I lumi di Palermo!"—and with renovated spirits, they broke forth into Sicilian songs, and pulled away with great vigour. About midnight we cast anchor in the Cala, or small port of Palermo.

CHAPTER XI.

PALERMO, placed on the margin of its beautiful bay, is surrounded by a rich and extensive plain, which is bounded by mountains of the most varied outline. The city stands on ground which slopes down to the sea, and stretches along the shore. On the western side of the bay, the remarkably picturesque Monte Peligrino closes a scene of which it is the chief ornament.

In a climate which blends the oriental palm, and aloes, with the orange-tree, the fig, the olive, and the vine; cheered by the brightest sun, refreshed by the purest breeze, and looking upon the dark blue waves, Palermo is one of the most attractive spots in the world. No wonder that the Saracenic princes made it their capital, and that the Normans followed their example.

The leading features of modern Palermo are two great streets, each above a mile in length,

which cross each other at right angles ; and the Marina, which skirts the sea. The two streets, in their present form, are the creation of Spanish Viceroy's. The Cassaro, which is the principal street, is lined on either side with lofty houses in a stately style of modern architecture. Bold cornices, and ponderous iron balconies prevail. The balconies are usually filled with flowers, or shaded with striped verandas, which add colour and richness to the scene. The ground floor of all the houses is turned into shops, the front of which consists of one large open arch that supplies the place of windows and doors, and mixes the trades with the pedestrians. Above these shops is the *piano nobile*, or the apartments occupied by the proprietors. From the fifth and sixth stories often project long rows of light iron gratings, which belong to various nunneries, and enable their inmates to catch a glimpse of the world. The Cassaro is always full of bustle and animation *.

* The Cassaro derives its name from Alcazar, Arabic for the Palace, to which the street conducts.

At the intersection of the two principal streets is Le Quattro Cantoni, a piazza not quite of sufficient size, but of which the four corners are ornamented with fountains, and porticos carried up to the height of the houses. Each of these porticos contains three tiers of statues. The lowest tier represents the Seasons; the next represents four sovereigns of Spain, who were also kings of Sicily; above whom are as many Palermitan saints. This work was executed by Julio Lasso, a Roman architect, by order of a Spanish Viceroy, the Duke of Villena. It was begun in 1609, and finished in 1620, and is much to be admired.

At the upper end of the Cassaro is the cathedral, and archiepiscopal palace, beyond which is a large open space, terminated by the Palazzo Reale.

In the course of the Cassaro occur many modern churches, either parochial or conventual; which are richer than any churches in the world in marbles, jaspers, and agates—the very walls as well as the altars are encrusted with Mosaics; but they are all rich to a fault, and the profusion of

relievos, frescoes, and gilding on the ceilings, leave no part in repose. Of these churches, one of the best is San Salvatore, built by Giacomo Amato, in the second half of the 16th century. This is a large octagon with a dome.

Out of the Cassaro opens the Piazza Bologna, in the centre of which is a remarkably fine bronze statue, representing the Emperor Charles V. in a Roman habit. It was cast by Gian Battista Livolsi, a native of Nicosia, in the year 1630. In the design Livolsi is said to have been assisted by the advice of Mariano Smiriglio, a Palermitan, at that time architect to the senate, and the superiority of this statue to other works of Livolsi corroborates the tradition.

But the most beautiful ornament of this part of the city is the Fontana Pretoriana, which almost fills a small piazza, adjacent to the Cassaro, and in front of the Palazzo del Senato. This fountain is circular, entirely composed of white marble, and ornamented with a crowd of statues, of which the only fault is that they are of too exquisite work-

manship to remain in the public streets. They look more adapted for what they were meant for, the ornament of the gardens of a princely villa. The fountain was originally made for a noble Neapolitan, Pietro di Toledo, by Vagerino Fiorentino, and Camillo Camilliani, two Florentine sculptors, in the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1593, the sons of Toledo sold the fountain to the Senate of Palermo. Antonio Gagini, the best sculptor that Sicily ever produced, superintended the reconstruction of the fountain when it reached the place of its destination, and himself added the Venus to supply the place of a statue that was either missing or broken.

The Cassaro leads down to the Marina, the most beautiful feature of Palermo, and without a parallel in Europe. It is a broad drive of considerable length, on one side open to the sea, and, on the other, lined with the palaces of the Palermitan nobility. A raised flagged walk, guarded by a dwarf wall, affords accommodation to pedestrians, and as much protection as is necessary from the

waves of the Mediterranean. From hence you catch the most beautiful views of the bay, Monte Pellegrino, and the eastern shores, and here the inhabitants of Palermo refresh themselves every evening, in carriages and on foot. During the summer months, when the cool breeze succeeds to the heat of day, when music, from a band which attends regularly, floats on the air, and the bright moon sufficiently reveals the scenery around, the Marina is so enjoyable that the corso is often prolonged till midnight.

At the further extremity of the Marina, is the Villa Reale, a public garden, laid out in the Italian taste, with formal walks, parterres, bouquets of evergreens, statues, and fountains; adjoining to this is the botanical garden, which is admirably kept up, and to which the trees, as well as the shrubs, of Africa and India, give the appearance of another hemisphere.

Such is modern Palermo, and it must not be supposed to be of small dimensions, because I have attempted to describe it in a few words; for,

in fact, it contains a population of above 173,660 inhabitants, and, in its different parts, displays many more modern churches and palaces, which deserve to be admired. Of the former, all are gorgeous, with a variety of marbles, and many are decorated with the sculpture of the Gaginis ^a, and the paintings of Morealese, Anemolo ^b, and Pietro del Aquila ^c. Attached to the church of the Padri Philippini is the Oratorio di Olivella, which deserves to be selected as a work of superior taste. It was built by Marvuglia, a Palermitan, who studied at Rome, and introduced a purer style of architecture into Sicily at the close of the last century. Of the palaces, the Palazzo Butera, on

^a The Gaginis were a father and three sons. Antonio Gagini, the father, was born at Palermo in 1480, and died in 1591. His best works are in the cathedral of Palermo, before undertaking which he expressly went to study at Rome.

^b Anemolo was a pupil, and studious imitator, of Raphael. He flourished in the middle of the 16th century. Morealese was a scholar of Spagnoletto. His colouring reminds one of Murillo. He died in 1647.

^c Pietro del Aquila was a pupil of the Caraccis.

the Marina, is remarkable for its size, being about half the length of an ordinary street, and having a delightful terrace on the side next the sea. The Palazzo Belmonte, in the Cassaro, was built by Marvuglia, and the newly finished palace of the Duca di Serra di Falco is distinguished at once by its classic style.

Such is modern Palermo, and I should give but a faint notion of its many advantages, if I did not allude to the villas and gardens which are seen without its gates^a, or to the delightful drives which abound in its immediate vicinity. One great merit of Palermo, a merit still more forcibly felt on coming from Naples, is, that the moment you are without its walls you are really in the country; and whenever you gain elevation, by ascending ever so little of any of the surrounding hills, you command enchanting views.

Modern Palermo is so entirely changed from what it was in former times, that, even when you

^a In addition to these, at about nine miles from Palermo, is La Bagaria, which is a cluster of princely villas.

are on the spot, you can hardly credit what history relates, and what still existing traces at length compel you to believe. In former times, and as late as the fourteenth century, the sea, after forming a large harbour, where the small port of Cala continues to exist ^a, was divided by a peninsula into two distinct branches, each of which penetrated into the heart of the present city. The ancient city, which occupied this peninsula, was subdivided into three wards ^b, each of which had walls of its own. On the opposite side of both the harbours were suburbs, of which the largest, distinguished by the name of Chalesa, was to the east. The present Marina at that time formed a part of Chalesa, and was divided by the waters from the city itself. On the contrary side of the peninsula, the sea nearly washed the feet of the present cathedral. The traces of ancient build-

^a The Cala derives its name from the Arabic word Kalah, a hollow.

^b After the Norman conquest, the Saracens were collected together in the middle ward.

ings, which are known to have stood on the brink of the waters, the names of streets, the various levels of different parts of Palermo, still reveal the course, the banks, and the beds, of either creek — of which both the extremities are still indicated by deep hollows and water-worn rocks, beyond the present walls, at La Fossa della Garofola, on the eastern side, and at Danisini, a cluster of cottages, near the Capucine convent, on the west. The Torre di Bosuena, (now immured in the Palazzo of the Conde Frederigo,) stood on the margin of one branch, as the Vecchio Dogana, just below the cathedral, was adjacent to the other; whilst the church of St. Antonio^a, built on the site of the Torre di Baych, marks what was the point of the peninsula.

The ancient name of Palermo (Panormus) agrees with the facts above mentioned; for the name implies that it had harbours on every

^a The sea is now at a considerable distance from San Antonio.

side; and the size of the Carthaginian fleets, which, at different times, were stationed at Palermo, (however little water the vessels might draw,) sufficiently demonstrates how small a part of the ancient ports must be the Cala, which is their only vestige. It was to guard the entrance to both these harbours that Adalcam, the Saracen, built the fortress of Castellamare, which was rebuilt by the Normans, and strengthened by Charles V.

How shall we account for so great a change? It is probable that the creeks were never very deep; that the rivers Oreto and Papireto, of which the creeks were the outlets, constantly brought down deposits from the hills; that the proper cleansing of the ports was neglected; and that, when additional room was wanted, and it was seen how easily room could be obtained, rubbish and embankments did the rest; but the result is, that the Palermitans, having deprived themselves of their original port, have been compelled, at a vast expense, to create an artificial harbour,

by the construction of a mole, at a considerable distance from the town ; and, after all, have not been able to provide a very secure protection for vessels of any size in stormy weather.

From what has been said, it will be seen, that a great part of modern Palermo occupies what was the bed of the sea.

CHAPTER XII.

SEPTEMBER 17.—Went, in the first instance, to the Palazzo Reale.

The Palazzo Reale is now a huge, mis-shapen, mass of buildings and towers, of various styles and various epochs. It occupies the same situation which was occupied by the citadel of the Saracenic lords of Sicily^a, but no part of the existing fabric is older than Norman times. Long the residence of sovereigns, it was abandoned, in troubled times, by the Spanish viceroys, who felt themselves more secure within the ramparts of

^a It appears rather to have been a citadel, than a residence, under the Saracens. Fazello calls it *La Rocca*, the name often given to castles in the middle ages, and the deliverance of *La Rocca* into the hands of the Normans, by the Christian soldiers of the Saracenic garrison, not a little facilitated the capture of the city.

Castellamare. When tranquillity was re-established, the Viceroy, Juan de Vega, in 1550, repaired the ancient abode, and returned from the fortress to the palace, and, ever since, the Palazzo Reale has been the residence of the sovereign or of his representative.

A considerable part of the Norman palace remains, though much has been pulled down, at different times, and much is disguised by modern reparation. It was originally built on the plan of the Norman keeps of the North. The principal rooms and the chapel were, and still are, on the third story, whilst the rooms for attendants and prisons occupied the space below. There is a large court in the centre. Originally, the palace had a square tower at each angle, of which only one, called La Torre di Santa Ninfa, remains in its ancient state. One of the towers was built by Count Roger; another, by William I.; and a third was added by William II. King Roger's addition to the palace was the celebrated chapel. The Norman kings had also constructed a great hall for

public occasions. This hall was united to the western side of the palace, and must have been on the ground floor, as William I. is related to have *gone down* to it from his apartments, when he went to address the people after the insurrection.

The Norman tower which remains is ornamented, externally, with long pointed pannels, slightly sunk in the walls, and retains a few of its pointed windows, divided by slender pillars.

Ascending the great staircase, we proceeded at once to the chapel, which runs the length of one side of the palace, and is entered from an open corridor, which goes round the four sides of the court.

This chapel is in the most complete preservation^a; a perfect gem of its kind, and a most singular and interesting specimen of that mixture of style which is only to be found, and could only be found, in Sicily.

^a Vide Plate 16.

It has all the features of a large church; a nave, side aisles, and three apses. It is built in the long Latin form, not on the square Greek plan; but it has a Greek cupola at the intersection of the cross. The choir is approached by a few steps. The pillars of the nave are taken from earlier buildings, and are of different materials; some are granite; others, marble. Their capitals are of the time, not exactly alike, but all ornamented with foliage, without any admixture of figures. The arches are all pointed.

The windows are short, broad, lancets, small in size and few in number, for, in southern regions, where the beams of the sun are so intensely bright, it becomes a great object to exclude them, especially from religious edifices, to which a certain degree of sombreness imparts additional effect.

The apses, the cupola, the walls, the insides of the arches, every part of the interior, are entirely covered with Mosaics on a gold ground, the effect of which, especially when the sun streams on any

particular part, is more rich, without being gaudy, than can easily be imagined.

The roof is not less peculiar. It is of wood, fashioned and ornamented in the Saracenic manner. The centre is composed of a series of large roses, or stars, with pendants between each, and on the edges of these compartments are inscriptions in Cuphic characters^a, associating Ma-

^a The Abbate Morso, who examined, copied, and translated, the Saracenic inscriptions on the ceiling of the Capella Reale, found one of them to be almost a literal repetition of the Saracenic inscription on the robe of honour wrought for King Roger by the Saracens of Sicily. The inscription is little more than an enumeration of excellent qualities, all of which, in the style of oriental hyperbole, are attributed to the individual sovereign. King Roger's robe was carried off to Germany by the Emperor Henry VI., with the other valuables of the palace of Palermo, and was subsequently used as the coronation robe of the German emperors. In Germany it was known by the name of the Nuremberg robe, as the imperial regalia were formerly kept at that place.

The Saracens of Sicily wrought another robe of the same

homedan recollections with a Christian temple. On one side of the choir, appears a marble candelabrum, copied from the antique, but with a mixture of Norman ornament.

This chapel was built by King Roger, and appears to have been finished in 1132^a, as, in that year, it was invested with the privileges of a parish church by the Bishop and Chapter of Palermo. It is evident that, in the construction of this chapel, both Greeks and Saracens were employed—the artificers of the conquered nations,

kind, and presented it to the Emperor Otho, when they wished to induce him to take up their cause. This robe afterwards became the property of the Emperor Frederick II., and was found in his tomb, when it was opened in 1342. See *Discorsi di Gregorio*.

^a *Titulo Sancti Petri, Apostolorum principis, intra nostrum regale Palatium quod est in urbe Panormi, ecclesiam summâ cum devotione fabricare fecimus. Diploma of King Roger, dated 1140, quoted by Rocco Pirro.*

Terminata, poi, nel 1132, fu dall' Archivescovo di Palermo, Pietro, é suoi Canonici, costituita parochia. Guida di Palermo.

whose style predominates over that of their employers.

The Mosaics were an after embellishment. If they were begun in the time of King Roger, they were certainly completed by William I. *

Perhaps there is no remnant of antiquity which, considered with reference to the history, or the state of the arts, is more curious and interesting than the Capella Reale of Palermo. In Sicily, and only in Sicily, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Normans, were united, and by their fortuitous conjunction, the northern, the classic, and the oriental styles were blended together; the Romanesque, the Greek, and the Saracenic. Nothing of the sort is to be seen any where else.

On the outside of the chapel is inserted in the wall an inscription, which records the existence of a clock which King Roger put up, at a time

* Willelmus cappellam Sancti Petri, quæ erat in palatio, musivâ fecit picturâ depingi, et ejus parietes pretiosâ marmoris varietate vestivit. Romualdo Salernitano, presso Carusa, p. 870.

when clocks, moved by a pendulum, were great rarities. The inscription is in three languages—Latin, Greek, and Arabic—another proof that, in those days, the three languages were equally employed in Sicily.

The Latin inscription is—

Hoc opus horologii præcepit fieri
Dominus magnificus Rex Rogerius
Anno Incarnationis Domini 1142,
Anno, vero, regni ejus 13 feliciter.

Adjoining to the Capella Palatina is the Sacristia, out of which opens the Archivio, wherein, under lock and key, are preserved original charters and deeds, relating to the chapel, from as early a period as the time of King Roger. Some of these deeds are in Greek, some in Greek and Arabic. The signatures of the witnesses are both in Greek and Latin characters. From the time of the Emperor Frederick II., the deeds are in Latin. There is one deed of the time of King Roger (the act of foundation) which is written in letters of gold on purple silk, exactly after the manner of the

imperial edicts of the Byzantine Emperors—a proof of the attentive manner in which the Byzantine usages were imitated by the Norman kings of Sicily.

From the Archivio we went to the only room in the Norman tower which remains in its original state, exactly as it was in the time of William I.^a, a small remnant of those private apartments the richness and variety of which Ugone Falcando describes in such glowing terms. The room which remains bears out the account of the magnificence of the Norman kings—for its coved ceiling, as well as its walls, are encrusted with Mosaics, and small Norman pillars of marble decorate every angle of the room. On the walls are seen Norman hunters, with the cross-bow, stags, and several peacocks, introduced for the sake of their brilliant colours. The Mosaics of the ceiling represent leopards, lions, griffins, and other animals^b.

^a Vide Plate 19.

^b In a lumber room of the palace is still to be seen a

The remainder of the palace is a handsome suite of modern rooms, in one of which are preserved two fine antique bronze rams, in a reclining posture, of the natural size, which have nearly been as great travellers as the bronze horses of St. Mark's at Venice. At one time they adorned the entrance of the castle of Maniaces, at Syracuse.

The palace commands fine views on both sides; looking to the north, over the city, to the sea; and, to the south, over the plain, to the mountains^a.

square wooden door, with richly moulded panels, which are filled with an elaborately entwining, Saracenic, flower. This door is believed to have belonged to the Norman apartments. Another door of the same kind is to be seen at the church of la Martorana.

^a In majore portâ (arcis a Georgio Maniaco ædificatæ) duo erant ænei Arietes, hodie in Œdiculâ castri ad mare Panormi positi. Claudius Marius Aretius, de situ Siciliæ.

CHAPTER XIII.

SEPTEMBER 18.—Went to the cathedral, which is a large, and would be an handsome, pile, if it were not disfigured by an Italian cupola, which the Neapolitan architect, Ferdinando Fuga, had the bad taste to attach to a building in the pointed style.

No part of this cathedral is older than 1169, for it was entirely rebuilt by Walter Offamilio, the Englishman, after he was made Archbishop of Palermo*. The old cathedral, which had been converted into a mosque by the Saracens, was then totally pulled down, and replaced by a more magnificent edifice, which was consecrated in the year 1185.

* Amato, de principe templo, Panormitano.

Of the fabric of Walter little remains but the crypt, a portion of the south side of the church, and a portion of the east end, of which the greater part is restoration. The whole of the remainder of the cathedral has been rebuilt at different times. The only architectural features which exist in the original part are the pointed windows in the south side, which are surrounded with a moulding peculiar to the Saracens; and the grotesque heads, under the eaves of the east end, which are no less decidedly of Norman origin.

The west end may be considered to have assumed its present form in the course of the 14th century, for the tower at the west end was in progress from 1300 to 1355,—and the west portal was finished before 1421^a.

The south door^b was inserted in 1426^c, and the

^a Porta major per Senatum allocata erat ante annum 1421. Amato, de Principe Templo.

^b Vide Plate 26.

^c Over the door is an inscription which concludes with—

highly ornamented porch, or rather portico, was added about 1450 by Archbishop Simon de Bologna *. It consists of pillars, pointed arches, and Greek details. One of the pillars must have once belonged to a Mosque, as it bears an inscription, in Cuphic characters, taken from the Koran.

In the crypt are stumpy pillars, with rude Norman capitals.

The interior of the Cathedral has been modernized throughout. Its principal ornaments are the statues in the choir, which are the work of Gagini, who having received the order to make the statues, went to Rome, before he set about them,

Mille quadringenti viginti jungite senos
 Cernebant Domini lustris volventibus anni
 Quando opus hoc egit, candenti marmore factum,
 Sulpere Gambarà prudens Antonius arte.

* Porticum ante Cathedrale construxit Simon de Bononiâ, ubi Bononiensis familiæ videas insignia.—Rocco Pirro, vol. II. page 167.

(though already a sculptor of great celebrity,) to improve himself with the study of the ancient models. But the most remarkable treasures of the interior of the Cathedral are the genuine tombs of the Norman Kings. These stand in a large side chapel, apart by themselves. They are four in number, and in design exactly alike. Each is a large sarcophagus, on a pedestal, under a marble roof, supported by four pillars. Two of the tombs are composed of white marble inlaid with Mosaics. Two are entirely of porphyry, plain but of large dimensions and good design^a. The sarcophagus of Roger is supported, at either end, on the shoulders of kneeling Saracens.

These porphyry tombs originally stood in the Cathedral of Cefalu, where they were placed by King Roger, who meant to have been buried at that place. As, however, he was buried at Palermo, and another tomb had received his remains, the Emperor Frederick II.^b caused the

^a Vide Plate 17.

^b Fredericus illa duo porphyretica sepulchra, a Rogerio,

two vacant sarcophagi to be removed from Cefalu to Palermo, to receive his father's ashes and his own.

The two white marble tombs contain the ashes of King Roger, and of his daughter Constantia, the mother of the Emperor Frederick.

In a recess in the same chapel, is an ancient, marble, sarcophagus, in which are the remains of Constantia of Arragon.

These sarcophagi have been opened at different times^a, and a most curious account has

avo suo, in Ecclesiâ Cephaludense condita, in Panormitanum archiepiscopale templum transferenda præcepit. Rocco Pirro, vol. II. p. 437.

^a Pro rex Ferdinandus Acuneus (da Cugna) anno 1491 præsentibus Johanne Paternioni Archiep., &c., &c., sepulchrum porphyreticum aperuit. Fazellus. lib. IX. dec. 2. c. XI. p. 534.

The Actus Senatorius which recorded the abovementioned transaction, illustrates the difference of the change which the Latin language underwent in Sicily, and in Italy. In Sicily the u was retained, where in Italy the letter o was adopted. "Fu apertu lu monumentu chi e in lu locu ove stannu li quattru monimenti," &c.

come down to us of the state of preservation in which the royal and imperial remains were found, and of the robes, and insignia, in which they had been consigned to the grave. The sarcophagus of the Emperor Frederic was opened in 1342, and his remains were found wrapt in the robe which, in 1211, had been presented to the Emperor Otho IV. by the Saracens of Sicily, who at that time wanted to induce him to come to their assistance ^a.

The robes and the diadems, or tiaras, which were found in these sepulchres, in form and materials, resembled those worn at the Byzantine court—another indication of the degree to which that court was copied by the Norman kings of Sicily.

Two large pointed arches, thrown over the street, unite the west end of the cathedral to the belfry tower, which stands apart from the church, and at one corner of the archiepiscopal palace.

^a Discorsi di Gregorio, tom. II. page 59, et sequentibus.

It was in this tower, or rather in its predecessor, that the Archbishop and Chancellor, Stephen, in 1169, took refuge when he was attacked by the Palermitan insurgents.

The archiepiscopal palace was rebuilt, or rather its reconstruction was begun, by Archbishop Simon di Bologna, who died in 1465 ; but very slight traces of his work remain, the existing palace being almost entirely a modern building. There is, however, a remnant of Simon's work at the eastern corner of the palace ; a large pointed window, which has tracery in the upper part, but slender pillars, instead of mullions, below.

From the cathedral we went to the barracks, near the Palazzo Reale, in the yard of which are still to be seen some vestiges of the Church of San Giacomo la Mazara. Several granite and marble pillars, with Norman capitals, remain in their places ; but the most curious remnant is the campanile, round the summit of which, inscribed on large stones, placed horizontally, is an inscription in Cuphic characters. Mongitore and In-

veges are of opinion that this church was built in the time of Count Roger, about the year 1088. Morso considers this a doubtful point, and inclines to the belief that the tower was not built till the time of *King* Roger, because the few words of the inscription which can still be decyphered are the same which appear on the roof of the Capella Palatina, and on the Saracenic robe. These words he considers to have been a customary formulary of the time, enumerating the great qualities of the founder, whose name, probably, appeared in the preceding part of the inscription, which is lost.

From hence, crossing the piazza in front of the Palazzo Reale, we went to the Church of San Giovanni degli Eremiti^a, which is a remarkably curious building, and, fortunately, not involved in any obscurity. This church, and an adjoining monastery, were built by King Roger, and they must have been finished before the year 1132, because, in that year^b, he wrote to William the

^a Vide Plate 9.

^b Rocco Pirro.

head of a congregation of hermits at Monte Virgine in Apulia, to request he would send him some of his fraternity, (who had acquired a great reputation for sanctity,) to inhabit the monastery in question. The request was acceded to, and it was from them, its first inmates, that the monastery obtained the name of San Giovanni degli Eremiti. The church is again mentioned in a Diploma of King Roger, bearing the date of 1148; in which he says—"We also grant to that monastery (Sancti Johannis) for the love of God, and the salvation of our mother, and our father, the great Count Roger, of the most serene Duke Robert Guiscard, our uncle *of most blessed memory*, and also for the welfare of the soul of our consort the Queen Elvira, of most blessed remembrance, and for the forgiveness of the sins of our children, and all our relations, alive or dead, and for the particular devotion which we bear to that monastery, which is situated under our own eyes, and near to our own palace, and which was built at our own expense, all those contiguous build-

ings which we have caused to be erected for this express purpose."

The period of the construction of the church is, therefore, clearly established, and it remains nearly intact. It has so oriental an appearance that, if its history were not so accurately known, it might have been mistaken for one of the mosques of the Saracens, afterwards converted to Christian uses. The singularity of its exterior arises from the number of its little cupolas, in shape exactly like those which are seen all over the east. It had, originally, five cupolas; three over the nave and one over each transept. Of these, four remain. The cupolas are supported by a curious process of corbelling at each corner, the necessity for which expedient, arises from the imposition of a circle on a square. The whole, (cupolas as well as walls,) is constructed of squared stone. This building is in the shape of the Latin cross, with three apses at the east end. It has no side aisles. It is plain throughout, with no traces of Mosaic on the walls, and is by no means large in

size, affording a proof that it was not usual for the Normans of Sicily to build on a great scale in those days.

The arches, under the cupolas, are pointed, as well as the doors and windows.

About this building there is more character and peculiarity than about any we have hitherto seen. There is nothing at all like it either in France or England. The dissimilarity arises from the oriental manner which the Normans acquired in Sicily.

From hence we were conducted up a very narrow street, nearly opposite the cathedral, to examine the vestiges of the old part of San Salvatore, a convent for nuns, which was begun by Robert Guiscard, and enriched, in 1198, by King Roger. The vestiges, which can be seen externally, are slight; a few windows now blocked up. They are the counterparts of the windows in the old part of the cathedral, and, therefore, cannot be supposed to be of a much earlier date.

CHAPTER XIV.

SEPT. 19.—This day was dedicated to the examination of the remainder of Norman churches within the walls of Palermo.

We began with the most remarkable one, somewhat unfairly called the Martorana.

This church was built by George Antiochenus, High Admiral to King Roger, and first noble of Sicily, as is proved by a Greek inscription still existing in the church. There is a difference of opinion with regard to the year in which this building was begun; some persons asserting that it was begun in 1113. But it was not till *after* the year 1139 that George Antiochenus could have enjoyed the dignities of Protonobilissimus and of High Admiral, which he describes himself in the inscription as possessing, because it was

only in that year that those dignities were conferred upon his father, and, as Morso observes, both father and son could not enjoy them at once^a. The church, however, must have been finished in 1143, because in the act of endowment^b, which bears the date of that year, the founder not only speaks of the church which he had raised from its founda-

^a The deed by which King Roger confers the title of Protonobilissimus on Christodonlos, the father of George Antiochenus, is preserved in the Archivio of the Capella Reale. It is written in the Greek language.

^b The Act of Endowment is also preserved in the Archivio. It is partly in Greek and partly in Arabic. By this act the High Admiral endows the church with certain lands, and with ten Saracen serfs, or *villani*, attached thereto. The names of the ten are added, both in Greek and Arabic;—Abdorachman, and his son; Abu Beker, Ben Men Allah, and his brother Azab, &c., &c.

The Saracen serfs of Sicily were not slaves, but held their lands under the obligation of certain personal services, (sometimes commuted for a money payment,) and the surrender of a certain part of the produce to the proprietor of the soil. They could acquire independent property, and leave it by will. They were not admitted to give evidence against a nobleman, but their evidence was good in cases

tions, but adds, "How much pains and diligence I have used in the construction, the style, and embellishments of this church, the facts themselves declare."

The church has been considerably enlarged, but such of the original portions as are left have been little altered, and it is easy to perceive what must have been the original plan. The building must have derived its importance more from the costly materials of which it was composed, and from the richness of its ornaments, than from its dimensions, for originally it was of no great magnitude. The plan was strictly Greek—a square, covered by a cupola, supported by four columns,

which concerned persons of inferior degree,—as the Act of Endowment proves, they and their families, could be disposed of with the soil, at the pleasure of the lord.

Such conditions appear only to have been imposed upon the inhabitants of such places as had refused to submit, or had afterwards rebelled. See Gregorio, *Considerazioni sopra la storia di Sicilia*, vol. II. p. 165.

with apses at the eastern end. This plan was the consequence of the religious opinions of the founder, who, following the Greek rite^a, built his church in conformity with Greek usage.

The original square of the building is exactly indicated by the original pavement, which is richly inlaid. The pillars are marble, taken from earlier buildings. These pillars support pointed arches. The cupola rests on the same corbelling which is seen at St. Giovanni gli Eremiti.

The walls are encrusted with Mosaics, of which many have been restored; but, amongst them, are preserved two very curious compartments of the same date with the old part of the church. One of these represents George Antiochenus at the feet of the Virgin, who holds in her hand a

^a George Antiochenus established, in his church, clergy of the Greek rite. The service was performed in Greek till the 5th year of the Pontificate of Honorius III.

scroll, on which is written, in Greek characters, a recommendation to mercy of the founder, with a specification of his claims. At the bottom of the scroll appear the words, "The prayer of George the Admiral."^a

The other mosaic ^b represents a colossal figure of the Saviour placing the crown on the head of King Roger ^c. The King is arrayed in the Byzantine costume, and in addition to the royal robes, wears the Dalmatic tunic, which could only be assumed by ecclesiastical dignitaries, and was never omitted by the Norman Kings, to shew that they were, what Urban II. made them, hereditary apostolical legates in Si-

^a The title of Admiral is of Saracenic extraction. It comes from the Arabic word Amir, which was the title given by the Saracens to military commanders, whether by sea or by land. Amir became, in Greek, *Ἀμύρ*; in Latin, *Amiras*; from whence the transition to Admiral is easy enough.

^b Vide Plate 15.

^c Over the head of King Roger appears in Greek characters *Ρογερῖος Ρηγῆ*, a curious jumble of languages.

cily, and, consequently, at the head of the Church, in that island.

On two of the pillars of this church are inscriptions in Cuphic characters, but expressive of sentiments that belong to the Christian as much as the Mahomedan. It is not, therefore, necessary to conclude that these pillars ever formed part of a mosque; it being equally probable that the inscriptions were placed there by the Christian founder, at a time when Arabic was commonly spoken in the country. This is the more probable, as the Act of Endowment concludes with exactly the same expression which appears on one of the pillars:—"God is all-sufficient and propitious to those who put their trust in him."

With regard to the name of La Martorana, which has triumphed over that of St. Maria l'Ammiraglio, it arose from the union of the Church of the Admiral to an adjacent convent, which was founded in 1193 by Aloisia, wife of Godfrey de Martorana. This arrangement was conceded to the prayers of the abbess and nuns.

of the convent by King Alphonso, in the year 1433. After this transfer, the Church was enlarged by pulling down each end, and adding nearly as much again at either extremity. This enlargement has united the church to an ancient tower, which is now the belfry of La Martorana, but appears to have originally been the entrance to another building.

This belfry is curious and full of character*. Under it is a porch with pointed arches, and a plain cross vault. The second story of the tower, which is older than the upper story, is very Saracenic in its character, and has windows surrounded with the Saracenic billet, exactly similar to those of the Cathedral. The upper half strongly resembles the French Norman.

There is little to remark in the exterior of La Martorana, except the singular moulding which is carried round the cupola, half way up, as if to relieve its baldness.

* Vide Plate 21.

From La Martorana we had not far to go to the Church of San Cataldo ^a, which was built by Count Sylvester ^b, a grandson of Count Roger. This Church is the more interesting as it retains its original form, and is, as nearly as possible, what the church of the Admiral must have been before it was altered. Here is the Greek square, the same inlaid pavement, the pillars, and the Greek cupola. This building had three cupolas, but the whole of the upper part of the interior has suffered much from subsequent embellishment. Count Sylvester, who died in 1161, built this church close to a magnificent palace, which he occupied in this part of the city.

In another part of Palermo is another Norman

^a In hâc urbis regione fanum est Divi Cataldi musivo pavimento, et porphyretico lapide, columnisque testudinem sustinentibus insigne, et a Sylvestro, Comite Marsico, Rogerii Siciliæ Comitis nepote, conditum. Fazellus.

^b Comes Sylvester, hominum timidissimus, and who, with the cruelty of cowardice, advised William I. to arrest Bonel, and deprive him of his sight.

church, La Magione, which was built by Matteo di Salerno, the creature of Maio, and, afterwards, Chancellor to William II. ; it was further endowed by the King, as appears by a deed bearing the date of 1150. This church was originally dedicated to the Holy Trinity, but having been subsequently conceded to the Teutonic knights, acquired the name of La Magione, or the Mansion, by which appellation the residences of the knights were often designated. The original parts of this church exhibit the same pillars and pointed arches.

To conclude the subject of the ancient Norman churches *within* the walls of Palermo, I mention here the Church of San Pietro a Bagnara, which stands close to the walls of the fortress of Castelamare, and, as is proved by the following inscription, was built in the time of Robert Guiscard.

“This venerable temple of the most holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, was completed in the days of the most glorious Duke Robert, and Si-

kelgeta ^a, his wife, at the expense of Nicholas, the son of Leo, Parathalassitos ^b of Palermo, and under the direction of Nicholas, the most humble Presbyter, and Tabularius ^c, in the year 1589 (1081).

The above is Morso's interpretation (and appears to be the correct one) of the original Greek inscription, still existing in the church. Little, however, remains of the original building, except the principal apse, on each side of which are two small marble pillars, with capitals of the time, rudely imitating the Roman.

^a Sikelgeta was Guiscard's second wife, and the daughter of Gaimar, Prince of Salerno.

^b Parathalassitos, the officer who had superintendence over the shore, — the "Harbour Master" — though the office appears to have been one of more consideration than with us.

^c Tabularius, the Treasurer. See Du Cange, *Mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis Glossarion*.

CHAPTER XV.

HAVING examined the most interesting vestiges of the Normans within the city, we now permitted ourselves to emerge beyond its gates, and began with an inspection of the works of the Saracens.

The Saracenic remains in the neighbourhood of Palermo are the villas of Moorish princes. Of these three exist in a good state of preservation, as well they may, from the substantial and scientific manner in which they were built. The names of these three villas are La Ziza, La Cuba, and Favara, or Mar Dolce. The first two are each about a mile distant from the Palazzo Reale, the one to the south, the other to the west. The third is in quite another direction, about two

miles to the east of Palermo, at the foot of the hills.

We went, in the first instance, to La Ziza^a, and on our way, were struck by the appearance of long and lofty walls, with large grated apertures near the top, and here and there a grated loggia. We might have fancied ourselves already arrived at the dwellings of Eastern Princes; but these walls were the boundaries of the gardens of nunneries, as we soon perceived by the occasional glimpses which we caught of their dark-veiled inmates.

Arriving at La Ziza, we found it a large, and very lofty, square edifice, built with large, ashler stones, in regular courses, and neatly put together with very little mortar. On the outside there are no original windows, for, originally, the windows were all turned to the court within; but the exterior is relieved and ornamented with tiers of long, pointed pannels, with two sinkings. Round the summit is a parapet of large stones,

^a Vide Plate 3.

placed horizontally, on which is sculptured an inscription in Cuphic characters.

This building is still inhabitable, and has been so entirely altered, to suit its modern destination, that nothing original is to be seen in the interior, except a fragment of the Arabesque honeycomb in the corner of one of the ceilings. But the great curiosity of the place is an open hall, on the ground floor, which is in good preservation, and is an exact counterpart of the luxurious retreats which are so universally seen in Mahomedan countries.

This hall, connected by a wide segmented arch with an open corridor, which stretches along the front, has three recesses, in one of which, (the one opposite the arch,) is a fountain, of which the waters are conducted in channels across the marble floor. The vaulted part of the recesses is covered with elaborate specimens of that honeycomb work*, which is so common in

* This honeycomb ornament, which appears a mere sport

the Alhambra. The walls are enriched with Mosaics; the floor, which is much worn, has been inlaid.

There are inscriptions in Cuphic characters on the walls of the corridor, on each side of the arch.

This hall is not the less curious for having been worked upon by the Normans;—in consequence of which it now exhibits the blended performances of the two nations; Norman and Saracenic ornaments side by side.

of fancy to the eye, has been discovered to be formed upon an uniform plan, and in a very scientific manner. It consists of a series of parallelograms, and right angled triangles, so combined as at once to produce uniformity and variety—the uniformity, by the structure of the ornament; the variety, by the painting and the gilding.

This discovery was recently made by Mr. Jones, whose beautiful work on the Alhambra has, for the first time, conveyed to us any just notion of the palace of the Moorish Kings of Granada.

The honeycomb ornament is common in the alcoves, and vaulted apartments of the Arabians, and is seen on a grand scale, in the hall of the two sisters, in the Alhambra.

The Norman additions are small marble pillars, and Mosaics. The pillars, which are introduced at the angles, and, at intervals, along the walls, have foliage capitals, with animals intermixed. The Norman Mosaics represent huntsmen, and peacocks, as at the Palazzo Reale; but the lowest band of Mosaics, which goes round the hall, is a repetition of flowers, and so entirely Arabesque in its character, that either it must have been a part of the original work, or copied from Saracenic designs.

The additions were made by William I., who, by some, is represented to have entirely built the Ziza; but the varieties of style, and the dissimilarity of the bulk of the building from Norman works, leave no reason to depart from the more generally received opinion. With equal propriety, as Morso justly observes, might William I. be regarded as the author of the whole of the Palazzo Reale, because Benjamin of Tudela says, "In this city (Palermo) there is a palace built by

William the King,"* whereas it is well known that he only added a tower, and fitted up some of the apartments.

In front of the Ziza now runs a public road, but it is obvious that, originally, the open hall of a Mahomedan prince could not have been exposed to the gaze of the multitude; and, in fact, this side of the palace originally looked upon an extensive garden, in the centre of which was a piece of water. Both were existing so late as 1526, and are thus described by Leandro Alberti, who visited Palermo in that year:—

“At a short distance, in front of the principal entrance, appears a large square fishpond, which is fed by the waters of the fountain in the hall. The sides of the fishpond are faced with stone, and each side is fifty feet in length. In the midst of the pond is a square pavilion, approached by

* In hac urbe regia domus constructa est a Gulielmo rege. Itinerar. Benj. Tudel.

a little bridge of stone. Within the pavilion is a vaulted room, with a window on each side, above which is another room, eight feet by twelve. In the upper room are three large windows, of which the front window looks upon the palace. Each of these windows is divided by a slender pillar of the finest marble. The ceiling is vaulted, and ornamented in the Moresque style. The floor is inlaid with a variety of marbles, but at present is in bad condition. In this upper room, the ladies of the palace used to assemble, and amuse themselves by looking from the windows at the fish swimming in the clear waters below. Their damsels remained in the room beneath, and from its windows enjoyed the same recreation.

“All round this fishpond was a beautiful garden, principally filled with orange and lemon-trees, and other shrubs. The vestiges of this garden are seen in the ruined walls by which it was surrounded.”^a

^a Leandro Alberti. *Descrizione di tutta Italia, ed isole pertinenti ad essa.* Venet. 1596.

From the Ziza we went to La Cuba ^a, which stands about a mile from the Palazzo Reale, at a short distance from the side of the road leading from Palermo to Monreale.

La Cuba is a lofty, oblong edifice^b, built round a court, with a square projection in the centre of each external side. It is constructed of large ashler stones, well put together. The outside is ornamented with the same pointed pannels; and there is the same parapet at the top, covered with Cuphic inscriptions. In the court within is a recess, of which the vault is ornamented with the Moorish honeycomb.

La Cuba was originally surrounded with gardens, in which were an immense fishpond and various pavilions. Fazellus, in the first book of his Decade, describes the past glories of the gardens in the following words:—

^a Cuba is derived from the Arabic *Cubat*, which signifies a vault, or vaulted work. The Ziza derives its name from *Alasia*, the last word of the Arabic inscription on the walls of the open hall.

^b Vide Plate 1.

“Attached to the palace was a park, or enclosure, about two miles in circumference, within which were delightful gardens, planted with all sorts of trees, and refreshed by never-failing streams. Here and there evergreen thickets of myrtle and bay perfumed the air. Within the enclosure were a number of vaulted pavilions, open on all sides, for the pleasure of the prince, of which one remains entire to this day. In the midst of the garden was an immense fishpond, of which the sides were composed of very large squared stones, and were of a vast thickness. These walls are still in a perfect state. Over this fishpond impended, as it were, the palace, built for the delight of the prince, round whose summit Cuphic characters are seen, of which I have not been able to obtain any interpretation. In one part of this enclosure, that nothing might be wanting to the recreation of the prince, were collected all sorts of wild animals, that either are pleasing to look upon, or agreeable to the palate. All these things, however, are gone to ruin, and

the space is occupied by the private gardens and vineyards of individuals; but the size of the enclosure may be accurately traced by the boundary walls, of which the greater part remains in a perfect state. This place the Palermitans call, now as formerly, by its Saracenic name of Cuba.^a

The above description pretty accurately represents the actual state of things, except that the walls of the fishpond have been, in great part, removed, and much more of the boundary walls has disappeared. Traces, however, of both still exist; and the vast thickness which is attributed to the walls of the fishpond is completely borne out by the remaining fragments.

The "vaulted pavilion" still exists entire^a, and is perhaps the most curious, as well as most genuine, vestige of the Saracens which is to be seen in the neighbourhood of Palermo. It stands in a walled garden on the contrary side of the modern road. It is entirely built of ashler stone,

^a Vide Plate 2.

and consists of four pointed arches, which support a small cupola. The arches are surrounded with exactly the same peculiar ornament which surrounds the windows in the old part of the cathedral. In the centre of the floor of the pavilion was a fountain, now dry.

After what has already been said, it will hardly be asked why the Ziza and the Cuba are believed to be Saracenic buildings; but it may be proper to remark that, independent of the Arabic names, the Arabic inscriptions, and the concurrent testimony of several ancient historians, the evidence of the character, the plan and the construction of these buildings, afford the most convincing proof of their Saracenic origin^a.

^a Morso, speaking of the Cuba and the Ziza, says—

Questi due sontuosi edifizii, che nel suo esteriore si conservano tuttora quasi perfettamente come furono del loro principio costruiti, sono, sicuramente, due nobilissime fabbriche Saracenesche.—Le pierre quadre così maestrevolmente connesse, che non apparisce ombra di calcina, il disegno, la

Dissimilar in plan from the keeps of the north, the Ziza and the Cuba exactly resemble the palaces of the Arabs as described by Leo Africanus and other ancient writers, and as reproduced at this day in the countries which that nation inhabits. Neither is there anything marvellous in the asserted duration of walls constructed with so much skill and solidity. At thirty miles from the Temple of Segesta^a, why

forma, le Cufiche iscrizioni nelle loro cime scolpite, i nomi stessi che portano di Cuba, et di Ziza, evidentemente ce lo annunziano. Palermo Antico, p. 134.

^a In addition to its natural beauties and advantages, in addition to its mountain, its Palermo, its Saracenic and Norman curiosities, Sicily possesses a surprisingly rich treasure of classic remains. Of these, the Temple of Segesta is the nearest to Palermo, and is remarkable for its state of preservation, and its impressive solitude: The Temples of Girgenti, the ancient Agrigentum, are on the southern coast of the island, at the distance of two long days' journey from the capital, and, beautiful in themselves, produce the most striking effect from their number and the lovely scenery by which they are surrounded. The Temples of Selinus are

should not its juniors by above one thousand years remain in existence ?

Though only three of the Moorish palaces now exist in the neighbourhood of Palermo, Leandro Alberti specifies two others, not far from the Ziza and the Cuba, the ruins of which he visited ; and he speaks of the vestiges of other buildings which, in his opinion, must equally have been *grandi et superbi edificii*.

The suburbs, from the foundations of walls and the broken tiles, are believed to have extended considerably farther to the east than they do at present ; and it has already been mentioned that such was the size, beauty, and convenience of the city and its appendages, at the time of the Nor-

prostrate, but are magnificent in ruin, from their colossal masses. Some of the metopes of the three Temples of Selinus have been removed to the Museum at Palermo, and afford the most interesting illustration of the progress of Grecian art. For the best history and delineation of the Grecian remains in Sicily, see the splendid work of the Duca di Serra di Falco.

man conquest, that Robert Guiscard freely conceded all the rest of Sicily to his brother, but could never bring himself to part with the sovereignty of Palermo.

CHAPTER XVI.

THIS day was devoted to an expedition to Monreale. Monreale stands on the last swell of the hills, about four miles to the south of Palermo. It derives its celebrity from the cathedral, in the vicinity of which it has grown up. Before the cathedral was built, the site of Monreale was a wild forest, in which the Norman kings pursued their hereditary amusement of the chase. In this forest, as the Chronicles relate, one day that William II. was hunting, he rested from his labours under a tree, fell asleep, and in a dream beheld the Virgin, who requested him to build her a church on the identical spot on which he was then reposing. He awoke to obey the commands he had received, and to raise a monastery, and a more magnificent church than as yet had

appeared in the island. The situation of the building, and the rank of the founder, obtained for the new institution the name of Monreale, or the Royal Mount.

The road ascends almost all the way from Palermo to Monreale—slightly at first, but so rapidly at last as to be conducted in zig-zags. All the way, the eye wanders over an earthly paradise, verdant with fig-trees, vineyards, and orchards of orange and lemon, the blossoms of which, in spring, perfume the whole neighbourhood. By the roadside, the gigantic stems of the aloes frequently rise to the height of twenty feet—a wonderful effort of vegetation in a single season^a.

The cathedral is favourably situated at the entrance of the town, and is on a scale not inferior to the works of the Normans in France and

^a The stem of the aloes is as thick as a small tree. It is a mass of fibres, and so tough that it is used for beams in those parts of buildings where particular strength is required.

England. In shape it is the Latin cross, and in plan resembles Cefalu. It has three apses at the east end, transepts, no central tower or cupola, but two square towers at the west end, which are connected, like those at Cefalu, by a modern portico.

The exterior of the building is generally plain, but the exterior of the apses at the east end is ornamented, from top to bottom, with tiers of small pillars and interlacing arches. The arches are formed of alternate blocks of black and white stone. Within these arches are long-pointed pannels, diversified with black and white circles and bands.

The windows are not large, plain, pointed, and undivided, except in the towers, in which the upper windows are divided by slender pillars.

The great western portal^a is ornamented with a series of faciæ very similar to those of Cefalu—a mixture of Greek and Norman; but the shape

^a Vide Plate 24.

of the portal, which at Cefalu is semicircular, at Monreale is pointed; and the pilasters at the side, which at Cefalu are plain, are here enriched with Greek scrolls and mosaics.

The door itself is bronze, richly ornamented with small figures in compartments, and a broad Arabesque pattern, which runs up the centre. The figures represent scriptural subjects, are well designed, and bold. An inscription at the bottom of the door preserves the name of the artist and the date of his work*.

* Anno Domini 1186, Indictione III. Bonanus, Civis Pisanus, me fecit.

Bronze doors, in those days, were usually imported from Constantinople. The bronze doors of St. Paul's at Rome were brought from Constantinople by Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII., when, in 1070, he was sent on an embassy from the Pope to the Greek Emperor.

Leo Ostiensis tells us that, a few years before (in 1060), the abbot of Monte Casino being at Amalfi, saw the bronze doors of the bishop's palace at that place, and admired them so much that he sent to Constantinople for bronze doors for his own church, from whence it may be concluded that the bronze doors of Amalfi also came from the Eastern capital,

The magnificence of William II.'s creation was reserved for the interior; but, before I describe,

because the abbot would hardly have sent so far, had the work he admired been executed so much nearer home.

In consequence of these importations, it became a general desire to obtain bronze doors for churches of importance. Several bronze doors still exist in Calabria, at Ravello*, Salerno, and other places.

With regard to the artist who designed and cast the bronze doors of Monreale, we learn from Vasari that he was an architect as well as a sculptor; that he worked at Pisa in company with Gulielmo Tedesco; that, conjointly with him, he built the celebrated Campanile at that place, and also gave the designs for one of the bronze doors of the Cathedral†, on which was inscribed—*Ego Bonannus Pisanus arte perfecit tempore Benedicti Operarii*. The probability therefore is, that the bronze doors of Monreale were cast at Pisa, where Bonannus was accustomed to reside, and where he was surrounded by the operatives who had already served him on similar occasions.

* Ravello is on the height immediately above Amalfi. It was a distinct Roman Catholic see, instituted by Count Roger at a time when the more ancient churches of Calabria persevered in the Greek rite. The date on the bronze doors of Ravello is 1179.

† This door was destroyed by a conflagration. See Vasari, vol. II. p. 171.

this, I must begin by observing that nothing can less resemble the interior of Norman churches in the north than the interior of Monreale*. Here are no massive buttresses, no round arches, no triforium. Single pillars, taken from Roman buildings, support pointed arches on each side of the nave. Some of the capitals are antique, but the greater part are of the time, and of the same pattern, exhibiting foliage, volutes in the shape of cornucopias, with figures intermixed. These capitals are of the most delicate and elaborate workmanship, and can only have been produced by a Greek chisel. The figures—an improvement on the animals and grotesque forms—chiefly represent scriptural subjects. On one capital, however, appears the king introducing the architect of the church to the Virgin.

But the glory of Monreale consists in the Mosaics which cover its walls: the walls of the nave, of the aisles, the transepts, the apses—every part of this spacious cathedral.

* Vide Plate 22.

In the centre apse appears the leading feature of the interior — a colossal half length of the Redeemer, environed by the vision of the Apocalypse and the Apostles. In one of the side apses is St. Peter; in the other, St. Paul. At the corners of the choir and the nave are prophets and kings. The nave, the aisles, and the transepts, are encrusted with the principal scenes of the Old and New Testament. Between the arches of the nave are medallions of saints, and even within the arch of every window are Mosaics of different patterns.

The lower part of the walls of the transepts and choirs are covered with plates of white marble, surmounted by a Saracenic trefoil formed of white marble on a rich ground of Mosaics.

The royal and episcopal thrones on each side of the choir are composed of porphyry and marble pannels, ornamented with stripes and bands of the richest Mosaics, most delicately worked.

Over the King's seat is a Mosaic of the Redeemer laying his hand on the head of the royal

Founder, who appears in the same costume which King Roger wears in the Martorana. Over the Bishop's seat is another portrait of William II., offering his church to the Virgin.

All these Mosaics are on a gold ground, and the whole affords the most gorgeous display of Byzantine decoration now in existence. The costume of the figures is, almost universally, Greek; even St. Peter and St. Paul appear in the pallium.

The roof of the church is of wood, painted, in patterns, and gilt.

In one of the transepts are the sarcophagi of porphyry, which contain the remains of William I. and William II.

Monreale ^a, which was begun in 1174, is the latest, and most splendid, of the works of the Norman kings. Latin in its shape, Roman in its colonnade, Byzantine in its Mosaics, Greek

^a The cathedral of Monreale is, internally, 266 feet long, and 85 feet 4 inches wide.

in its sculpture, Saracenic and Norman in many of its mouldings, features, and details, it exhibits a most curious combination of styles, and is one of the most splendid monuments of the middle ages.

Adjoining to the Church ^a, is the cloister, above which are seen the long lancets of the refectory ^b. This cloister very much resembles that of Cefalu, consisting of small coupled pillars, supporting pointed arches. The capitals are varied, and are ornamented with foliage and figures, delicately worked. In one corner of the cloisters is a marble fountain, of a Saracinesque character. The cloister was, also, the work of William II.

When the buildings were complete, William sent for monks from La Cava, in the peninsula, to people his new institution.

From Monreale a steep path, winding up the

^a Vide Plate 23.

^b Peristylum marmorcum Biscentinum, columnulis musivo etiam opere elaboratis, suffultum adjecit.

side of the mountain, and practicable for mules, conducts to the wealthy Benedictine convent of San Martino. This approach is the shortest cut, but the most picturesque and habitual way to San Martino is, on the contrary side of the hills, by Bocca di Falco, from whence an easier access is afforded by a natural gorge.

On your way from Monreale to San Martino, at a considerable elevation, is situated a large, ancient, deserted, building, which goes by the name of Castello di S. Benedetto, and is said to have been a Saracenic fortress, converted, by William II., into a Monastery^a. Its lofty walls and towers, preserve to it, externally, the appearance of its first destination; but, on one side of a large court, within the walls, you find a Christian church. Whatever may be the truth of the conversion of this building to sacred purposes in the twelfth century, it was used again, as a fortress, in the fourteenth, and was greatly

^a Guida di Palermo dal Cavaliere Palermo.

damaged by the retainers of the Chiaramonte family, by whose opponents it was, at that time, occupied. It was afterwards a disputed possession between the monks of St. Martino, and Monreale, and the source of various brawls between the contending parties. It is a large, oblong, pile of perfectly plain construction—the walls are very thick, and the original doors and windows are pointed.

After having topped the ridge, you rapidly descend, and, by an approach which is singularly striking and picturesque, arrive at the celebrated convent of San Martino, as completely shut out from the world, at the distance of a few miles from Palermo, as if it stood in an Egyptian wilderness. The monastery, a handsome modern building of great extent, stands in the centre of a deep basin, surrounded by rocky hills of great height and broken outline. The lower ground is verdant, and well covered with orchards of almond trees; amongst which a grove of fine old Stone-pines rises conspicuously, and

with its dark and matted foliage relieves the lighter colours of the undergrowth. The rocks around are covered with wild plants and shrubs of remarkable beauty; amongst them are pre-eminent the luxuriant wreaths of a purple convolvulus, trailing over the most arid banks, and decking them with its lively flowers even beneath a Sicilian sun in July.

The monastery contains a library, with some interesting manuscripts. A small missal, illuminated in the Flemish, or French, style of the tenth century, is particularly beautiful.

Returning to Monreale, we found our carriage awaiting us, and, in the drive back to Palermo, caught enchanting views of the bright city, and the dark blue sea beyond.

CHAPTER XVII.

I SHALL devote this chapter to the various specimens of ancient domestic architecture which we observed in different parts of Palermo, but which, for the convenience of the reader, I will here collect together.

Of these the most remarkable are, the Ospedale Grande and the Palazzo dei Tribunali; both originally private palaces, subsequently transferred to public purposes. Both were built in the early part of the fourteenth century, and both exist nearly entire and little altered.

The Palazzo dei Tribunali was begun, in 1307, by Manfredi di Chiaramonte, Count of Modica ^a,

^a A.D. 1307, Mense Junii, magnificus Manfridus de Claramonte præsens opus fieri mandavit feliciter. Amen.

But the palace appears not to have been completed till

on the foundations of the ancient marine villa of the Saracenic princes, situated in what was the suburb of Khalesa, formerly divided from the city by an arm of the sea. The building is on an immense scale. It is a lofty, square, pile, built round a large court. The walls were originally cap with a Saracenic parapet, of which traces remain. The windows are large, pointed, and divided into two, and three, compartments, by slender pillars. The arches of the windows are plain, with two sinkings, but no mouldings. The space between the arch and the window itself is decorated with Saracinesque patterns in red and black stone.

This palace was forfeited to the crown in 1392, when Andrea Chiaramonte was beheaded for high treason. At a subsequent period it was converted into courts of law.

long afterwards; for, in another part of the building, is inscribed, A.D. 1380, Hoc opus completum.

The Ospedale Grande, which is in the upper part of Palermo, was another private habitation, on a still larger scale than the Chiaramonte Palace, in emulation of which it was built by Matthew Salafanus, Count of Adriano, in the course of a single year^b. It is an enormous pile to have been raised, in any country, in any age, within so short a space of time. The general plan is the same—a square building round a court, with arcades below, and open galleries above. On the outside, the fabric is plain below, but ornamented, above, with a series of large interlacing arches. The windows are pointed, and divided by a single pillar. This

^a Plate 25.

^b A.D. 1330.

Felix Matthæus Salafanus memoriâ dignus
 Fabricam hanc fecit nobilem pius benignus
 Ut ne mireris modico tam tempore factam
 Vix annus fluxerat quam cernis ita peractam.

Baronius says, that Salafanus was æmulator Manfredi Charamontani, Motycæ Comitis, qui præclarum, ad mare, sibi struxerat domicilium.

palace was purchased by King Alphonso, in the year 1432, and by him converted into a public hospital; at the same time he added a chapel^a, for the use of the institution. In a door of the porch, connecting this chapel with the hospital, is to be seen one of the earliest specimens of the appearance of the pointed style of the north in Sicily. It is a good plain door with several mouldings.

In the old street called *La Salita di San Antonio*, which leads up to the *Vecchio Dogana*, are many vestiges of ancient habitations, distinguished by their large pointed windows, divided by the same slender pillar; but, here, surrounded by mouldings of different patterns, amongst which the Norman zig-zag continues to appear.

The same features are visible in the remaining portions of the *Vecchio Dogana* itself, which,

^a Alfonsus Rex hoc templum ibidem construendum, instituendumque curavit anno 1433, et consequentibus. *Monitore MS.*

having ceased to be a convenient Custom-house, when the sea no longer approached its walls, was given up as a public building, and has been divided into private tenements.

The Torre di Bossuena, and other scattered fragments of the olden time, swell the number of specimens of ancient domestic architecture, in various parts of Palermo, and afford a proof that the same style continued to be employed for a great number of years.

In another part of Palermo, the palace of the Moncada family retains considerable portions of its more ancient parts, but by the time they were built, the style had undergone a change. The old part is a remnant of the palace built by Gulielmo Aiutamichristo in 1485^a. The pillars of the gallery exhibit shields on their capitals, and the arches are round, as in the porch added

^a L'antico Palazzo di Ajutami Christo, fabricato da Gulielmo Ajutami Christo, Barone della terra di Misilmeri, nel 1485 et 1498, oggi, Palazzo Paternò. Guida di Palermo dal Caval. Palermo.

to the Cathedral at Cefalu. The Emperor Charles V. lodged in this palace during the time of his residence at Palermo.

The Monasterio della Pietà, which is situated at no great distance from the Tribunali, was, at one time, a private palace, and was built in the year 1495 (as is recorded in an inscription still extant on its walls) by Francis Patella, who held official dignities in the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic. In this building there is a remarkable change of style. The huge portal is square-headed, and ornamented with a few mouldings rather in the shape of sticks than reeds. The windows, are, also, square-headed, divided by three slender pillars, with the addition of a little tracery in the upper part. The male line failing, this palace, with estates, was bequeathed, by the last of the family, to found a religious institution. The palace was then converted into a convent, to which a church was added.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SEPTEMBER 28. This day was occupied in the examination of several ancient buildings, of various dates, which are scattered on the plain, without the walls, on the eastern side of Palermo.

The first interesting object we arrived at, was the large stone bridge^a which was thrown across the bed of the little river Oreto, by the same George Antiochenus^b, who built the Martorana, and which, with more justice to the memory of the builder, is called, to this day, *il Ponte del Ammiraglio*. It is well built,

^a Vide Plate 18.

^b Ponte, che edificato di Georgio Antiocheno, si conserva intera e porta il nome di Ponte del Ammiraglio. Morso, p. 271.

with large squared stones, and consists of five plain pointed arches, with one sinking. The centre arch is much the largest. The course of the river has been changed in modern times, and the bridge is no longer used, but remains stretching over dry land, in good preservation.

At a short distance beyond this bridge we found the most ancient vestige of the Sicilian Normans in the neighbourhood of Palermo. This interesting relic is the ancient portion of the Church of San Giovanni dei Leprosi, which was built by Count Roger to mark the spot on which his forces were encamped previous to the capture of the capital*. The building is small, and much of what exists

* Attesta Fazello che la Chiesa di San Giovanni fu eretta da Roberto Guiscardo, e dal Conte Ruggieri, mentre essi assidievano la Citta di Palermo. Morso, p. 278.

Nel sito medesimo ove stette accampato Ruggieri. Cavaliere Paterno.

Rogerus ædem quæ Divo Johanni sacra est (eorum hospitium qui elephantia vitiantur) trans Orcti amnis ostium, ubi pons est lapideus insignis, ædificavit. Claudius Marius Arezzo.

is reconstruction, but the external walls of the two sides and east end of the church are original as well as its tiny cupola.

The walls are well built with squared stones, in regular courses. The windows and doors in the lateral walls are pointed and plain, but have two sinkings. In the three apses, at the east end, the windows are round-headed. The stone cupola rests on four pointed arches, in the same manner as at San Giovanni l'Eremiti. In the original portions, there is no trace of Mosaics or any kind of ornament.

To this church was afterwards added an hospital for the reception of persons afflicted with leprosy*. The hospital has long been pulled down, but has left the church its distinctive appellation.

Some authorities call this building the joint work of the two brothers, Robert and Roger; and add, that they caused it to be constructed

* S. Johannis di Leprosis templum excitatum ab Rogerio, Sicil. Com. Rocco Pirro.

whilst they were carrying on the siege. Other writers ascribe the erection of the church to Count Roger alone, and the latter opinion appears to be the most probable, as such a work, though on a small scale, was little likely to be undertaken amidst the bustle of offensive operations, and could hardly have been accomplished in the short duration of the siege. After the capture of the city, Count Roger, who remained in Sicily, was very likely so to mark the spot on which he had been encamped.

Near this church, existed a fine grove of palm trees^a, which were cut down, out of mere spite, in 1325, by the Count of Squillace, Admiral of Robert, King of Naples, when he made a descent on this coast, and laid waste the plain of Palermo.

^a Tunc, quidem, ingentes Palmæ, quæ juxta pontem admirati erant, longe præteritis inoffensè temporibus, deletæ sunt; quâ neque dives palmarum Idumæa regio in proceritate vicisset, nec Garbarum insula coæquaret. Nicolai Specialis Historia Sicula. Lib. vii. c. 9.

Half a mile farther, we arrived at the third Saracenic palace, which still exists in the neighbourhood of Palermo. This building is sometimes called Fāvără, and sometimes Mar Dolce—the cause and the effect; for Favara, in Arabic, means a spring, and Mar Dolce alludes to the fresh-water lake which that spring used to feed.

Favara is a very large, square, castle-like pile; not so lofty as La Cuba or La Ziza, but having a much larger court. The external walls are diversified with the same pointed pannels, and, in this building, there are external windows in the upper part pointed, and with three sinkings. The rooms on the ground were vaulted.

At one extremity of the palace are the ruins of such steam baths as the Mahommedans habitually employ; consisting of vaulted rooms with chambers underneath, in which the water was heated, and from whence the steam was suffered to rise. The chambers were vaulted with unusually large bricks. The three chimneys, which let

out the smoke and the steam, still remain, as well as the channels which brought the water.

The entire construction of the Favara is by some ascribed to King Roger ^a, as that of the Ziza is attributed to King William; and at Favara, as well as at La Ziza, Norman work exists. Part of one side of the quadrangle, is a Christian chapel, almost the counterpart of San Giovanni dei Leprosi, with the addition of a singular stone cornice which surrounds the little cupola. But, for various reasons, it is much the most probable that the generally received opinion of the Saracenic origin of the Favara is founded on fact. Francesco Barone ^b, speaking of the remarkable objects in the neighbourhood of Palermo, says, that he saw an ancient manuscript, in the possession

^a Et ulterius ad passus circiter mille fons ingens est a Favara Sancti Philippi nominatus. Rogerius Rex ædes insignes locumque fecit amœnissimum, solatium regium unâ cum fonte appellatum. Fazellus.

^b De Majestate Panormi. T. 2. c. ii. f. 85 to 92.

of the heirs of Don Giuseppe Chaggio, Rector of San Nicholo del Albergeria, in which it was stated, that the castellated mansion at Mar Dolce, which, from its great age, was gone to ruin, was built by a Saracen Prince, who gave it the name of his favourite daughter. "The building," says the manuscript, "was surrounded by water, to which, as well as to the adjacent baths, the Prince, when he wished to fish or bathe, had access by secret passages and stairs which led from the palace." This story is little more than the echo of the tradition orally handed down—but that tradition is supported by the present appearance of the place, the construction of the building, the baths, and the numerous Arabic associations which are connected with the spot. It is evident, that the site was situated agreeably to oriental habits, with reference to the copious spring, and that a lake was created greatly exceeding the fishponds of La Cuba and La Ziza in extent. This lake, as well as the palace, had an Arabic name. On account of its size, it received

the name of Al Bahar, or the sea, afterwards corrupted into Albehira ^a, and, in modern times, translated into Mar Dolce. The lake is now dry, but vestiges of the massive walls which embanked it remain. Three sides of the palace were bathed by its waters. All this, as well as the baths, is much more Arabic than Norman.

The truth of the matter seems to be that King Roger, struck with the charms of so delightful a spot, repaired the Saracenic pile, added the chapel for his own use, and then acquired the reputation of having created the whole.

According to Benjamin of Tudela, the Favara was a favourite resort of the Norman court in the time of William II. ^b

^a Morso, in a very learned dissertation, assigns good reasons for believing in the identity of the Albehira, and Mar Dolce.

^b One should fancy, from Benjamin's expressions, that he visited Palermo rather in the time of the Mohammedan Emirs than of the Norman Kings, for, speaking of the Albehira, he says, " The lake is ornamented with royal vessels, enriched with painting and gilding, in which, for recreation,

Leaving Mar Dolce, we struck into another road, and crossing the rocky valley of la Guadagna, went to our furthest point, the ruins of another palace, popularly called La Torre dei Diavoli, which stands on an high bank, above the course of the stream. The chief of what remains is a large hall, of which the door is pointed. The windows, which are pointed and divided without, are round-headed within. Under the windows runs a string course with the dog-tooth ornament. This building, therefore, can have no pretensions to Saracenic antiquity. Indeed it is believed to have been erected so late as the days of the Arragonese kings.

On our way back, we stopped at the Campo Santo, which is nearly as full of cypresses as the burial grounds in Turkey. This Campo Santo has been erected in modern times, and is attached to the ancient church of Santo Spirito, which, together with an adjacent Cistercian monastery,

the King *and his wives* frequently make excursions." Benjamin visited Palermo in 1172, in the days of William the Good! Itin. Benjamin, Tudolensis.

was begun by Archbishop Walter in 1173^a. In digging the foundations, he is related to have found a large treasure, which assisted him in the reconstruction of his cathedral. The greater part of Santo Spirito has been rebuilt, but the east end is original. Its windows are pointed, and it is ornamented, externally, with interlacing arches.

Santo Spirito has derived great celebrity, in the annals of Sicily, from having been the scene of an event which set fire to the train that John of Procida had long been preparing. It was a custom with the inhabitants of Palermo to hear mass at Santo Spirito on Easter Tuesday. On the last day of March, 1282, (which was the day on which Easter Tuesday fell in that year,) the Palermitans, as usual, assembled together at Santo Spirito in great numbers. Amongst the crowd were mixed up many French soldiers, one of

^a Gualterius Panormitanus Cœnobium S. Spiritus, Cisterniensis Ordinis condidit, anno 1173; ubi etiam a conditore thesaurum, quo postea templum maximum excitavit, reperiuntur memorant. Fazellus, lib. viii. dec. 1.

whom, Droet by name, offered some insult to a Palermitan girl, who was distinguished for her beauty and accomplishments. Her relations, who were near, hearing her cries, ran to her assistance, and slew the aggressor. The people, no longer able to restrain their feelings, fell upon the other French soldiers who were present, and dispatched every one of them. The news of what had taken place was soon carried to the city, and, instantly, the *Sicilian vespers* began.

CHAPTER XIX.

I SHALL here mention a few churches of Palermo, which, though later than Norman times, are still ancient, and are interesting as throwing light upon the progress and change of style in Sicily.

These churches are scattered about in various parts of the city, but instead of endeavouring to describe the situation in which they stand, I shall set them down in the order in which they come in point of antiquity.

According to this rule San Francesco di Assisi takes precedence^a. The first stone of this church was laid in 1255^b. The west portal is pointed,

^a Vide Plate 27.

^b Inveges, vol. iii. p. 661, but the church was not finished till 1471. The Porta Maggiore was built in 1302, at the expense of the Chiaramonte family, whose arms appear upon it.

and of good workmanship, and surrounded with the Norman zig-zag. Attached to each side of this portal is a marble pillar that must have belonged to a Saracenic mosque, for on each pillar is inscribed, in Arabic characters, an extract from the Koran. One of these inscriptions recites the usual Mahomedan profession of faith. "There is no God, but God, and Mahomet is his prophet."

San Agostino^a was commenced at the close of the thirteenth century^b. The west front exhibits a marked and peculiar character. The portal is composed of black and white stone in alternate courses. Its arch is pointed, and, unadorned by projecting mouldings, is relieved by three sinkings. The face of each sinking is ornamented with patterns in lava and stone. The outside

^a Vide Plate 27.

^b Circa 1275 colloco la fondazione del famoso convento di San Agostino. Inveges.

Rocco Pirro speaks of *tabula paricti* (Ecc. S. Augustini) affixa, anno 1306, which records the consecration of a chapel.

border exhibits the emblematic vine leaf, delicately worked. On each side the door are three pilasters, with a Greek running capital, common to all. Above this pointed door is a round window.

San Giacomo la Marina^a; 1339. Chiefly modern, but part of a tower, and side aisle, of the old building remain, and are in the pointed style. The old church was built on the site of one of the first mosques which the Saracens built at Palermo.

Santa Maria Annunziata, ossia degli Dispersi^b, begun in 1343, has three apses, pointed arches in the nave, surrounded with enriched mouldings of a Greek character, and supported by marble pillars with foliage capitals of good workmanship. In front of each capital is the figure of a Sibyl.

^a La prime notizie che si ha di San Giacomo la Marina appariscono nel 1339. Il Palermo d'oggi giorno di Villabianca.

^b La fondazione della confraternità dell' Annunziata e del 1345. Morso, p. 284. The church was begun a few years before, as is proved by an inscription over the door.

The portal of this church is pointed, but surrounded with Norman zig-zags.

San Nicholo di Albergaria^a, begun by Queen Blanche, in 1400, in the pointed style, and decorated with patterns in black and white.

Santa Maria degli Angeli; ossia la Gangia; begun in 1430^b. In this building the style is entirely changed. All the forms are circular.

Chiesa dello Spedale Grande^c; 1433; in the

^a Divi Nicolai de Albergariâ templum, a Reginâ Blancâ, anno 1400, ut ex publicis tabulis Fazellus testatur, extructum. Baronii majestas Panormi.

^b Circa hoc tempus, 1430, fratres conventus Sanctæ Mariæ de Jesu, extra Panormum, augustum ædiculum pro curandis iufirmis intra civitatem obtinebant. Cum, autem, frequentes sermones haberent ad populum, idque in templis alienis, aliquot proceres et Senatus Panormi decreverunt humile Xenodochium in commodum conventum commutare, et nobile templum, adjacere. His auspiciis coaluit Cœnobium sub nomine Sanctæ Mariæ Angelorum. Mongitore, MS.

Gangia, o Grangia, abitazione suggesta a qualche Abbazia. Il Ospitio di alcuni Paesi in Sicilia si chiama Gangia. Pasqualino. Vocabulario Siciliano.

^c Alfonsus Rex hoc (templum) ibidem construendum curavit, anno 1433, et sequentibus. Mongitore, MS.

portico of which is the door in the pointed style of the north, with several projecting mouldings.

Santa Maria dello Spasimo; 1506; in the pointed style; now a ruin. From this church was transferred to Madrid, by the Spanish sovereigns of Sicily, Raphael's celebrated picture of Christ, sinking under the weight of his cross, known by the name of "Lo Spasimo di Sicilia."

"Chiesa delle Ripentite"; founded about 1512; windows and doors in the northern, pointed style. The windows are divided by a mullion, have some tracery, in the upper part, and projecting mouldings.

* Vincenzo Sottile, nobile Palermitano, fondò, l'anno 1512, quella chiesa col nome di Santa Maria delle Grazie. Morso Bernard of Bologna, Vic. Gen. of the cathedral of Palermo (sede vacante) in a charter, existing amongst the archiepiscopal archives, confirms Sottile's foundation, and uses the following words, "Cum sit quod vos *struxistis quandam Capellam* vocatam Sancta Maria de Gratiâ," &c.; a proof that the building was never Sottile's house, as Morso intimates.

Chiesa della Madonna di Piè di Grotta^a; 1565; a small building, of considerable elegance, in the complete renaissance style.

Chiesa di Santa Maria della Catena. Though the greater part of this church belongs to the close of the fourteenth century, yet the west front, for which alone it is remarkable, was rebuilt at the close of the sixteenth century, under the direction of the sons of Gagini. The portico is approached by stairs, and consists of three elliptic arches, surrounded by mouldings, and supported by pillars. In spite of the mixture of style, the effect is pleasing. The church derives its name from having formerly had attached to it one end of the chain which, in ancient times, secured the entrance of the harbour.

^a Nell 1565, Ottenero i Pescatori da Alfonso Ruis, Protonatario del Regno, questo luogo, del quale era padrone, e l'accomodarono in forma di Capella. Il Caval. Palermo, Guida di Palermo.

CHAPTER XX.

SEPT. 30. — Drove across the plain of Palermo to the Franciscan convent of Santa Maria di Gesu, which stands about four miles from the city, on rising ground, at the foot of the eastern range of hills.

The original portions of the church are in the northern pointed style, with several projecting mouldings. The pillars of the cloister, which are also of the time, have octangular capitals. The capitals are not all alike; one or two of them are ornamented with such leaves as are often observed in the cloisters of the north.

This church was only begun in 1426^a, suc-

^a Mongitore, MS.

ceeding to a chapel which had been erected to St. Anthony, of Padua, who resided on the spot for a short time, having been hospitably received by its proprietor, when he visited Sicily.

The gardens attached to this convent stretch up the side of the hills, and command the most beautiful views of the plain of Palermo, the city, with its cupolas, and white buildings, Monte Pelegrino, the dark blue sea, and the amphitheatre of mountains with which the plain is surrounded. A foreground of rocks, orange trees and cypresses, complete the picture.

The following day I made an excursion to Parco, a village about eight miles from Palermo, on the opposite side of the valley to Monreale, and in rather a more elevated situation. From Parco we obtained a splendid view of the whole plain of Palermo, the city and the sea, Monreale, and the hills at its back. Palermo did not appear to be at half the distance it really was. It was a lovely evening, the atmosphere surprisingly clear,

the tints on the mountains exquisitely delicate,
—a scene and a climate in which mere existence
is happiness.

The neighbourhood of Palermo affords many
more such excursions.

CHAPTER XXI.

OCTOBER 2.—I was awakened by the smashing of my windows by the Venetian blinds outside, which was occasioned by one of those sudden *Bourasques* which are not unusual at Palermo. This time the gale came from the south-east, and I soon experienced the effects of the true scirocco—in a degree of prostration of strength, and depression of spirits, at which the patient himself is astonished. Every fibre is relaxed, and perspiration oozes out of every pore.

As I lay gasping, the laquais de place rushed in with dismay on his countenance, and informed us that intelligence had just been received by telegraph from Naples, through Calabria, that the cholera had broken out at Barletta, and one or two other places on the Adriatic, and was sup-

posed to be on its advance to the southern parts of the Peninsula. The prospect of the capricious quarantines, which were now likely to be enforced in every direction, made these bad tidings particularly disagreeable, and filled us with the wish of escaping as soon as possible from regions in which we might at any moment be exposed to at least serious inconvenience. Scarcely had the first informant delivered his budget, before a second arrived with the news of the arrival of the San Wenefrede steamer direct from Naples, but, because the cholera was in the *kingdom* of Naples, though at that moment supposed to be above 100 miles distant from the capital, the San Wenefrede had instantly been put into quarantine by the *Sanità* of Palermoi. Any person might go on board; but, upon the condition of not returning to Sicilian land.

Under these circumstances, not knowing what further restrictions any twenty-four hours might produce, and having reason to expect that all further intercourse between Palermo and Naples

would be suspended for some time, I determined to avail myself of the opportunity of escape which the San Wenefrede presented. We set about our preparations with as much alacrity as we could under the baneful influence of the oppressive scirocco, and transferring ourselves on board the steamer, bade adieu to Sicily, carrying away with us the most interesting recollections, and the most grateful sense of the attentions we had experienced from the kind and courteous inhabitants of Palermo.

By this hasty, and unexpected, departure I was prevented from effecting an expedition, which I was on the point of undertaking to the Saracenic baths of Cefalà. All I could do was to engage Signor Musumeci, whose name has been mentioned before, to undertake the errand, and I subjoin an account of those curious remains in the words of my substitute.

The baths of Cefalà are situated about eighteen miles to the south-east of Palermo, at the foot of the Chiarastillo hills, on the road from Palermo

to Messina^a. The mineral waters, which brought the baths into existence, have secured them from destruction. They are still in tolerable repair and in good repute.

Externally, the baths are a large oblong pile, about ninety feet long. At the height of the springing of the roof a band, with Saracenic inscriptions, was originally carried entirely round the four sides. The walls themselves ascend a story higher. This upper story is modern work, but, probably, the building was as lofty at first as it is at present, and, having suffered from the injuries of time, has in part been renewed. There are now three doors of entrance, but none of these are ancient. What appears to have been the only original door is now walled up. It consists of a plain pointed arch, constructed of large, thin, bricks.

Internally, you find a spacious hall, covered with a stone vault of a considerable span, which is

^a Vide Plate 4.

here and there perforated with circular apertures, to admit light and air. Three baths, surrounded by a broad pavement, occupy the largest portion of the floor. The upper end is separated from the body of the hall by three pointed arches, supported by pillars with capitals. Within this space is a larger bath, which appears to have been used for plunging. The mineral stream, first conducted into the largest of the baths, successively flows into the three others, and is there carried away by subterraneous channels.

The history of these baths is unknown; but from the construction, as much as from the inscriptions in Cuphic characters, there is every reason to believe that the original portions of the building were the work of the Saracens. The learned Gregorio expresses this opinion in his dissertation on the public baths of Sicily*. He adds, that public baths continued to be used in the times of the Normans, that the money paid

* Discorsi intorno alla Sicilia, tom. 1. p. 127.

at the doors produced a large annual income, and that they were in vogue so late as the thirteenth century, in proof of which he adduces a deed of the Emperor Frederick II., bearing date 1220, whereby a certain annual sum was assigned to the Cathedral of Messina on the public baths of that city. It is not known when or why the public baths ceased to be frequented, but they are not mentioned as affording any return in the time of the Arragonese kings, and Gregorio suggests that the use of linen next the skin, which by that time had become general, may have rendered the baths less necessary.

CHAPTER XXII.

HAVING stated the facts with which I became acquainted in Sicily, let us now put them together, and see to what conclusions they collectively lead.

In the first place it appears, that, in Sicily, the Normans adopted a style of architecture totally different, not only from that which they employed in France and England, but equally remote from that which they employed in Calabria.

In Calabria, as in France and England, the Normans appear never to have departed from the round, or Romanesque style. The earthquakes which have, at different times, made such havoc in the southern provinces of the Peninsula, adding another and more terrible element of de-

struction to the usual effects of war and time, have left us very few genuine works of the Normans in the kingdom of Naples—but the fragments of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity, at the ancient Mileto, testify a studious endeavour to imitate the works of the Romans, and the church of San Nicholò at Bari, built with the assistance of Count Roger, and consecrated twelve years before his death, (in 1089,) affords a proof that, in Calabria, the round style was not discarded. Indeed, it is much to be doubted whether any instance of the pointed style can be found in Calabria earlier than the time of the Emperor Frederick II.

It further appears, from the example of the Cathedral of Messina, the remnants of the original church at Traina, the door of Santo Carcere, at Catania, and other Norman works in that part of Sicily, that, (probably from the vicinity to Calabria,) the round style was at first employed by the Normans in the eastern parts of Sicily, and kept its footing for some time.

At the same time it is equally clear, that at and near Palermo, the Normans, from the moment the conquest was achieved, employed a style totally different from the style which they had employed any where else, totally different from any style which had, up to that time, been employed by any nation of Europe, and that, having once adopted this style, they ever after adhered to it in Sicily.

The Normans captured Palermo in 1072, just six years after another band of Normans had effected the conquest of England. The church of San Giovanni dei Leprosi was built soon afterwards by Count Roger, who died in 1101. San Giovanni dei Leprosi, therefore, must have been built in the time of William Rufus.

The next Norman Sicilian work, in point of date, is San Giovanni degli Eremiti, followed at a very short interval by the Capella Palatina, which, again, was followed almost immediately, by the cathedral of Cefalu. All these were the works of Count Roger's son, the first Norman

King of Sicily, and the latest of them was begun in 1132, whilst Henry I. was still sitting on the throne of England.

All these buildings are in the pointed style. The style which was adopted by the sovereigns, was equally employed by their subjects, of which we see proofs in the Martorana, and the Bridge of the Admiral. The pointed style was equally employed by succeeding princes, and introduced into the eastern districts of the island^a, and gradually became the habitual style in which not only the churches, but the palaces and private houses, were built in every part of Sicily.

At the same time it must be observed, that the pointed style of Sicily has peculiar features, and in many respects differs from the pointed style of the North. In Sicily, the arches of the windows and doors are not adorned with projecting mouldings, but only relieved by sinkings—the face of

^a Maniace; the east end of the cathedral at Catania; La Catolica at Messina; L'Abbadia, &c.

the arch is always flat. The windows exhibit neither tracery nor mullions, and, when divided, are only divided by slender pillars.

It is manifest that, for so entire a departure from the style which the Normans had been accustomed to employ, there must have been some particular reason. Had all vestiges of anterior buildings vanished from the face of the island, we must still have concluded that the Normans found in Sicily the motives for so remarkable a change. But when a certain number of Saracenic buildings are still in existence, and in exactly the same style with the Norman buildings, it is impossible to refuse to see, in these Saracenic buildings, the models which the Normans copied. No man who, after examining the Saracenic Pavilion in the gardens of La Cuba, should repair to the Norman Church of San Giovanni degli Eremiti, could entertain a doubt that the pavilion was the parent of the church. In the peculiar *Billet* which surrounds the arch of the pavilion he would see the original of the ornament which

surrounds the windows of Walter's Cathedral, and in the external pannels of La Cuba, and La Ziza, he would acknowledge the prototype of the tower of Santa Ninfa.

The buildings, therefore, still existing in Sicily, prove, 1st, that the Normans in Sicily employed the pointed style; 2d, that it was used in that island before it was used on the continent of Europe; and 3d, that it was borrowed from the Saracens. But the Norman Sicilian style was not Saracenic alone—Saracenic in its arches, it was Roman in its pillars and capitals, Byzantine in its cupolas and Mosaics, Norman, and Greek, in its enrichments—a combination only to be found in Sicily, and natural there, from the mixture of the different nations.

The Greeks, who formed so large a part of the population of Sicily, had a two-fold influence on the buildings of the Normans, as sculptors, and as schismatics, and, in the latter character, produced a curious difference in the churches, built by the kings, and the churches built by subjects

who were natives. The Greek churches differed in plan essentially from the Latin churches. The former were square, the latter, generally speaking, in the form of the long, or Latin cross. The sovereigns of Sicily, who were all of the religion of Rome, almost invariably adopted what was considered to be the orthodox plan, but almost all of the earlier churches built by their native subjects, all of whose progenitors, having composed a part of the eastern empire, had embraced the Greek heresy, were built in the square shape which came from Constantinople.

Again, Sicilian Greeks were, in Sicily, the architects and the sculptors; and consequently introduced Greek designs in the mouldings, executing them with that delicacy, and that peculiar method which only belongs to the Greek chisel.

It is still a matter of controversy whether the Mosaics which adorn the walls of Norman Sicilian churches were the work of Sicilian Greeks, or Greeks imported from Byzantium. The evidence

which has come down to us on this subject is of little amount. Tornamira, in his *Vita di Santa Rosalia*, quotes a passage from Gianbattista Aurelio, a Sicilian Greek who wrote in the time of the Norman kings, in which it is stated that the artists employed by King Roger on the Mosaics of the Capella Palatina were Greeks, which by some is understood to mean Sicilian Greeks, though it should seem that Aurelio intended to draw a distinction. Possessed, however, of only such uncertain information, in order to arrive at an opinion upon a subject after all of no very great importance, we must weigh probabilities, and we must also inquire what was, in those days, the condition of the arts of design in Italy and Sicily.

We know that, in Italy, from the distracted state of the Peninsula during the tenth century, the tenth and eleventh centuries were the period during which the arts were at the lowest ebb in that country. In 1066, when Desiderius, abbot

of Monte Casino, rebuilt his church, he sent to Constantinople for artists skilled in Mosaics^a, and afterwards, with their help, instituted a school for that art in his own convent. Were we to infer from this that the art was altogether lost in Italy, we should be led into an error; but we must conclude that, in the eleventh century, the Italian artists were very inexpert, and greatly excelled by those of Constantinople; otherwise Desiderius, whose church was situated at a short distance from Rome, would have felt no disposition to call in the aid of the Eastern capital.

During those centuries also, the meagre remains of the arts of design were possessed, and exclusively possessed, by the Greeks, from whose cold and lifeless productions—the saints and Madonnas on a gold ground—the Italians recovered the radi-

^a Leo Ostiensis, lib. III. c. 24. Constantinople was, in fact, the Paris of the middle ages. It was the high court of fashion, and the repository of decoration, swarming with skilful artists in gold and silver, bronze, Mosaics, jewellery, enamel, and providing Europe with ornaments.

ments of an art in which they so soon and so far outstripped their masters. In the twelfth century, the arts of design began to revive in Italy, but it was not till the beginning of the thirteenth that Andrea Tafi was born^a, who re-acquired the art of working in Mosaics from the Greeks employed on the decoration of St. Mark's at Venice. Cimabue, the father of the Italian school of painting, did not see the light till 1240; and Giotto, who surpassed his master, did not come into existence till 1265.

If such was the condition of Italy, what must have been that of Sicily? At the time when the Normans took Palermo (1071), the Sicilian Greeks had been above two centuries under the yoke of the Saracens. By them they had been employed in building and embellishing their mosques and their palaces, amongst the decorations of which, tessellated pavements and patterns in Mosaic were habitually introduced. But the art of designing

^a Vasari, vol. II.

the human figure must have been more completely lost in Sicily^a than it was in Italy, because the religion of the masters by whom the Sicilians were employed absolutely interdicted the human figure^b. We hear nothing of the appearance of Mosaics in the Norman churches till about forty years after the Norman conquest; but when we see that the art of designing the human figure was not recovered in Italy till nearly a century later, is it probable that it should have sprung up again in Sicily with so much more celerity? And, when we know that the Greeks of Constantinople were at that time in possession of the art, that Italy had recourse to Constantinople, and that the eyes

^a When we remember the miserable chapel in which the Greek archbishop of Palermo was found, at the Norman conquest, we cannot suppose that the Sicilian Greeks were allowed the opportunity of preserving the art of designing the human figure, whilst under the Saracens, in the decorations of their own churches.

^b In obedience to the 22d verse of the 7th Sura of the Koran.

of the Sicilians were, from old associations, especially directed to the Eastern capital, what can be more probable than that kings and barons, who spared no expense in the embellishment of their buildings, should have sent to Constantinople for the proficient of the day?

This view of the question is not sustained alone by the degree of art displayed. It is not only that, in the Mosaics of the Norman churches of Palermo, the outline, the grouping, the drapery, of the figures, give evidence of something more than a mere tyro's hand—that the feeling with which the subjects are treated implies a certain advance in art—but the whole character and the costume of these Mosaics is decidedly Byzantine, and not only Byzantine, but, in the representations of the sacred personages*, bearing marks

* O Greci fossero stati gli Architetti ed i Pittori di Musaici, o Italiani discepoli di quelli, già si vede—che la maniera delle figure, o dipinte o di rilievo, é tutta conforme al piu esatto vito Greco. Descrizione del real Tempio di Monreale, di Gio. Luigi Lello.

of the minute regulations insisted upon by the Greek Church. Each saint was always to be depicted in exactly the same manner, and the name of the saint was to be annexed in Greek letters, that the thoughts of the votary might never be misled.

In this point of view, the Mosaics of Monreale are exceedingly curious, affording, in their long series, an absolute gallery of Byzantine costume, and constantly reproducing the prescriptive forms of the Greek Church, and the peculiar signs which distinguished the Greeks from the Latins *.

* The apostles are clothed, not in the Roman toga, but in the Oriental pallium.

All the bishops also appear in the pallium, which, at that time, though generally permitted to all Greek bishops, was only sparingly conceded by the Church of Rome; but none of the bishops have mitres, which, though universally worn by Roman Catholic bishops, were not adopted by the Greeks.

The figures which are decorated with the stole and the dalmaticum, wear them after the Greek fashion, and in a

Not must it be forgotten that the founder of Monreale was eminently attached to the Church of Rome—a circumstance which makes so general a departure from Roman usage the more remarkable.

Upon the whole, then, it appears to be most probable that the artists who designed and wrought the Mosaics of the Norman churches of Sicily, were Greeks of Byzantium; but whatever may

manner different from that which was habitual with the Latins.

The kings and archangels are arrayed in the imperial habits of the Byzantine court. The female saints uniformly wear the Greek dress; and St. Catherine is clothed in royal robes. It was the creed of the Greek, but not of the Roman Church, that St. Catherine was a king's daughter.

The crosiers are terminated, not with the pastoral crook, but with the Greek globe.

A prophet, who is represented in the act of giving the benediction, gives it in the Greek manner.

These and many other peculiarities are pointed out by Lello in his elaborate description of the church of Monreale.

have been the case in those early times, the art was, beyond a doubt, eventually cultivated, and with success, by the Sicilians. In the sixteenth century, Pietro di Oddo, a native of Monreale, composed and laid down the tessellated pavement which completed the decorations of its church; and, in modern times, Charles III. established a school for Mosaics at Palermo, which has ever since provided artists of merit, who are salaried by the Court, and exclusively occupied in restoring and keeping in repair the Mosaics of the Capella Palatina, the Martorana, and Monreale.

In their Sicilian works, the Normans introduced little of their own; but some features they *did* introduce,—for, before their arrival, nothing of the kind existed either in Sicily or Italy. These were grotesque heads amongst the foliage of capitals, or under the eaves; the billet moulding, the dog-tooth moulding, and their favourite chevron, or zig-zag. The designs for these ornaments were probably supplied by the Norman prelates, or the ecclesiastics in their train, at a

time when numbers of them were invited from France into Sicily, and at a time when bishops and monks were frequently architects.

But how was it that, in Sicily, the pointed style never progressed as it did in the north?—that it never caught the spirit of elevation?—that it never produced those splendid effects which it afterwards did in other countries of Europe—effects to which, in fact, it owes its celebrity? Because, in Sicily, architecture was in the hands of the Greeks, in whose minds the old classic model, the Greek horizontal line, was so deeply rooted that they never departed from it,—and because both Sicily and Calabria were still covered with such an abundance of ancient classical remains, as from them, in great measure, to supply the pillars and the capitals which were transferred to the Norman churches, and for them still to command exclusive attention.

The pointed style in Sicily, therefore, remained much as it was in the beginning—much as it was in France on its first introduction—a sufficient

proof that, in Sicily at least, the pointed arch was adopted with no scientific object, and without any reference to the vertical principle.

The square, or Greek, churches of Sicily were almost invariably covered with the stone cupola, which was of Byzantine extraction, and which had been, by the Greeks, already communicated to the Saracens. Stone cupolas were admitted in *small* Latin churches, as in the Capella Palatina, and San Giovanni degli Eremiti; but the habitual roof of all the larger Norman churches in Sicily is of wood, relieved by carving, painting, and gilding. The Sicilian architects had not been accustomed to throw stone vaults over spaces of such large dimensions as naves, and the wooden roof, once adopted, became prescriptive.

The Norman churches of Sicily, upon which, as has already been mentioned, the forms of the classical temples had a certain influence, were abridged of one feature which adds so much grandeur to the external appearance of the Norman churches of France and England. In

Sicily there is not a single instance of a central tower.

The display was reserved for the interior, and there the object that was aimed at was fully attained. Of this the Capella Palatina at Palermo, and the cathedral of Monreale, are sufficient evidence. No one who beholds the interior of those works of the Normans beholds it without admiration, or fails to rank them amongst the most splendid productions which the middle ages have left behind.

The Saracenic pointed style lasted in full force in Sicily till the end of the fourteenth century, as is proved by the Tribunali and the Ospedale Grande. In the course of that time, under the Arragonese sovereigns, more and more enrichment was added to the mouldings, but enrichment of a Greek character. The Norman zig-zag, however, still kept its ground.

In the fifteenth century, a change began to creep in, but taste had not yet taken any decided direction. Various novelties were attempted:

sometimes the forms were circular, sometimes square, and sometimes elliptic. Amongst other novelties, the pointed style of the north was introduced, with its projecting mouldings and a little of its tracery, but later in Sicily than anywhere else; and, though something of its true spirit is caught in the reconstructions in the castle of Maniace at Syracuse, yet in Sicily it always appears an exotic.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, all these varieties gave place to the renaissance, and the Italian style was gradually introduced.

But having seen that the Sicilian Normans employed the pointed style, and that they adopted it from the Saracens, we must not exactly leave the matter there. How came the Saracens of Sicily by it? Was it invented by them, or for them, in Sicily, or did they bring it with them?

Sicily, at the time of the Saracenic invasion, was exclusively occupied, and had for centuries been occupied, by the descendants of Greeks and Romans, who, when left to themselves, invariably

adhered to as close an imitation of the Roman style as the state of the arts enabled them to accomplish. It was not in Sicily, therefore, that the pointed arch would be found by the Saracens. Was it *invented* there? Let us cast a glance over the countries from whence the conquerors came, and see whether, in them, we shall not find the answer to this question.

Sicily was conquered by the Saracens in 832. By that time the Arabs had extended their empire over Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa Proper, and Spain, and wherever they went had become great builders. Bagdad, Fez, and Morocco, were already splendid cities. Abdalrahman had already built his palace at Cordova, and several hundred mosques had been raised in different parts of the Mahomedan empire. The Arabs, therefore, had already had a considerable practice in architecture, and were likely to have acquired a predilection for some particular forms. Without precise information, as we are, with respect to the style which they habitually employed at that re-

note period, let us observe what style they *did* employ at the nearest period, to the moment in question, of which any monuments exist.

The earliest Saracenic buildings of which the date is accurately known, are to be found in Cairo. The Nilometer ^a was rebuilt where it now stands, and as it now appears, by Motawukel, 10th Kaliph of the Abassides, in 859. The mosque of Teyloun was built in 879, and the mosque of Hakem, in 1003. The dates are recorded in Cuphic inscriptions, still existing in the walls of the buildings, and in all these buildings the pointed arch appears ^b.

If we turn to Spain, we shall find that the

^a 859. Eodem anno significatum est Mutevakelo Mensuram Nili in Ægypto collapsam esse—jussitque mensuram extrui in insulâ—quod factum est, eaque vocata fuit mensura nova. Georgius Elmacinus, who was a Christian Egyptian scribe, and wrote in the twelfth century.

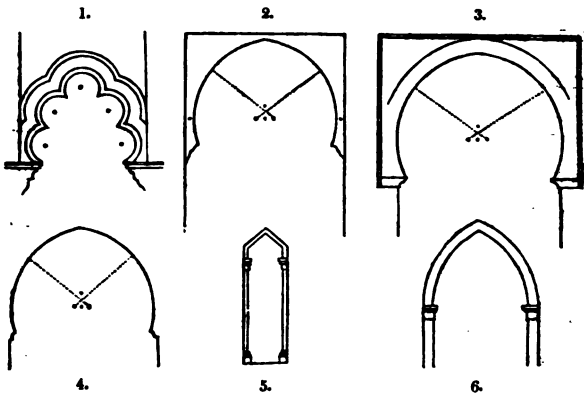
The identity of the present Nilometer is confirmed by the Cuphic inscription.

^b See Wilkinson's Travels in Egypt.

the arches, in the Saracenic buildings, though of several varieties *, and though the oldest of them are slightly pointed to the eye, are all on the pointed principle,—that is to say, arches not struck from one centre, like the round arch, but invariably struck from two, or more, centres.

That the pointed arch was the form which pleased the Arabs, and for which they acquired a decided preference, is sufficiently proved by their

* VARIETIES OF THE SARACENIC ARCH.



No. 1. Mosque at Cordova.
 3. Alhambra, Gate of Justice.
 5. Mosque of Hakem, at Cairo.

2. Alhambra, Hall of the Fish Pond.
 4. Mosque of Teyloun, at Cairo.
 6. Nilometer.

having used it ever afterwards, and introduced it wherever they went. In Persia, at Byzantium, in Syria, and in India.

Finding the pointed arch, therefore, employed by the Saracens in Egypt, at a period so nearly simultaneous with the Saracenic conquest of Sicily, and that it was introduced by the Saracens wherever they went, must we not believe that it was employed by the Saracens who conquered Sicily before they possessed that island, and that they prescribed it to the architects of the conquered nation, in the same way as the Norman conquerors subsequently prescribed the Norman zig-zag?

The Saracens who conquered Sicily came from Kairoan, a large city, about fifty miles to the south-east of Tunis, and about twelve miles from the coast, which had been built by Akbah in 670. From the period of the conquest, a constant intercourse was kept up between Sicily and Kairoan for a century and a half. The King of Kairoan regularly appointed the Emir of Palermo, to

whom the government of Sicily was only given during pleasure,—the consequence of which was that the office was frequently renewed. In 979 Muaz-ladin Allah, then King of Kairoan, removed from thence to Egypt^a, and from that time till 1039, (when the Saracens of Sicily declared independence,) it was from Egypt^b that the governors of Sicily were sent, and it was with that country that the most frequent intercourse was kept up. It is also on record, that the same King of Kairoan who sent the expedition to conquer Sicily, was occupied about the same time in building on a large scale at Kairoan^c, and not

^a About a century after this abandonment of Kairoan by the Sovereign, it was attacked, captured, and totally destroyed, by the wild tribes in its vicinity.

^b 988, Venit in Siciliam Giaphar, quem miserat Alaziz Kalipha Ægypti, ut Siculam insulam regeret. Arab Chronicle, cited by Inveges.

In 1020, Yuseph, who had been Emir of Palermo, retired to Egypt. Ibid. Ibid.

^c Leo Africanus,

in the construction of ordinary houses, but in the construction of palaces for his own residence and that of his chief officers, without the city.

From all these circumstances, it appears next to certain that the pointed arch came to Sicily from Kairoan, and that it was first habitually employed by the Saracens of Africa, whether there introduced by a Saracenic, or a Greek, architect, to meet that love of variety for which the Arabs were remarkable — probably by a Greek^a; because, at first, the Arab conquerors certainly employed the workmen of the conquered nation, and because other features of their buildings were, decidedly, of Byzantine origin,

^a In the *Menologium Græcorum*, which was transcribed and illuminated, at the command of the Emperor Basilius, (who began to reign in 867,) by Byzantine artists, pointed arches are introduced as architectural ornaments. This copy of the *Menologium* is now in the Library of the Vatican.

such as the pillars, and the domes*. Enrichment, and a multiplicity of ornament, were the objects upon which the Arabs insisted the most; and the attention which they paid to these minor considerations, was the reason that, in their hands, the pointed style never acquired that more noble character with which it was afterwards invested by northern science.

With regard to the precise age of the existing Saracenic buildings in Sicily, we have nothing but conjecture to guide us. They cannot have been built later than 1037; because, after that time, all was confusion in Sicily, till the establishment of the Normans. We learn from the letter of the Monk Theodosius, that so early as 870, the Saracens had made great additions to Paler-

* The minaret, that most graceful feature of the mosque, was first introduced at Damascus, by the Kaliph Valid, in the 68th year of the Hegira, corresponding with the beginning of the eighth century of the Christian era. See d'Herbelot, Dictionnaire Orientale.

mo, for he expressly states, that such a multitude of Saracens had there congregated, that they had surrounded the city, which they had found, with other cities. But, having regard to the times which were the least disturbed by violence*, and in the course of which occur the Emirs who reigned the longest and were the most wealthy, we shall be disposed to believe that the Saracenic palaces still existing, were built in the second half of the tenth century.

Upon the whole, then, it appears that the pointed arch came from Africa to Sicily; but how did it find its way, at a later period, into northern France and Germany, the countries, of the continent of Europe, in which it first made its appearance? We might have expected to have found it first in Normandy, as intercourse was constantly kept up between what may be called the mother country, and the Sicilian colony; but I have shewn, in a former volume, that the pointed

* Arab Chronicle, cited by Inveges, vol. ii.

arch did not appear in Normandy so soon as it appeared in other parts of northern France.

Shall we believe in a second invention?—And even this would not suffice, for the pointed arch was introduced so nearly at the same time in different countries widely apart from each other, that if the new fashion is not to be connected with any thing that existed before, it must have been invented by different persons, in different places, at one and the same time. Is it not more probable that it was borrowed from those who originally employed it, the Saracens, and that it was given to the continental countries of Europe by the Crusades? Is it not more probable that the new shape should have been remarked by some of the Crusaders, the pilgrims, or the captives, who, during the course of those wars, were conducted into Saracenic regions,—that it should have made an impression on their minds, and that some of them should, on their return, have introduced it in their respective lands? The date of the first appearance of the pointed arch in the

countries of the continent of Europe, compared with the dates of the Crusades, is in accordance with this view of the subject.

THE END.

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